Research Report 340

Helinä Rahman

Finnish Pupils' Communicative Language Use of English in Interviews in Basic Education Grades 1–6

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to describe, analyse and interpret Finnish pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews in basic education grades 1–6. The pupils' communicative language use of English was studied through the analysis of communication strategies and language functions. This study was a case study which contained ethnographic features. The research questions were the following: 1. What communication strategies do Finnish pupils use to cope with the interviewer's questions in interviews? 2. What language functions do the Finnish pupils use when being interviewed in English? 3. In what ways does an English-language interviewer support the pupils' coping with English?

The data consisted of pupils in basic education grades 1–6 who were in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) classes and studied partly in English. The pupils (N=7) were interviewed once at the end of each spring term during their first six school years, which provided 42 audio-recorded interviews, each 5–15 minutes in length. The data was analysed through qualitative content analysis methods.

The main research finding was that the pupils were able to communicate in English by using various communication strategies and language functions from grade 1 onwards. The interviewer's role in helping pupils to cope in interviews was particularly important in grades 1–2 when, with the help of the interviewer, the pupils managed to communicate successfully. The older the pupils were, the less help that was needed, and the interviews had more and more conversational features.

There were differences in using communication strategies between pupils and grades. Some of the pupils were strongly using achievement strategies and others avoiding. In the early grades, more avoiding was identified, but with the help of the interviewer, the communication was successful. The language functions were usually informative in character, but the older pupils used more argumentative features. Both the communication strategies and language functions used by the pupils were concentrated in a few common categories in grades 4–6. The interviewer used many strategies to support the pupils' coping in English in the interviews. He was able to change his strategies according to the pupils' needs to maximise the pupils' communicative language use of English as the interviewer knew the pupils beforehand.

The study indicated that oral practice of English over time in small group sessions with a teacher who speaks English as his native language creates a good context in which to practise the communicative language use of English with functional aims. The data also demonstrated that pupils with a multicultural background were good at communicative language use overall and that some of them were able to use several foreign languages.

Keywords: communicative language use, communication strategies, language functions, interviewer's strategies, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

Helsingin yliopisto
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Tutkimuksia 340

Helinä Rahman

Suomalaisten oppilaiden viestinnällinen englannin kielen käyttö haastatteluissa perusopetuksen luokilla 1–6.

Tiivistelmä

Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli kuvata, analysoida ja tulkita suomalaisten oppilaiden viestinnällistä englannin kielen käyttöä haastatteluissa perusopetuksessa luokilla 1–6. Oppilaiden viestinnällistä englannin kielen käyttöä tutkittiin viestintästrategioiden ja kielen funktioiden analyysin kautta.

Tutkimuskysymykset olivat seuraavat: 1. Mitä viestintästrategioita suomalaiset oppilaat käyttävät selvitäkseen haastattelijan kysymyksistä haastatteluissa?, 2. Mitä kielen funktioita suomalaiset oppilaat käyttävät puhuessaan englantia? ja 3. Millä tavoin englanninkielinen haastattelija tukee oppilaiden selviytymistä englannin kielellä?

Aineisto koostui oppilaista, jotka opiskelivat CLIL-luokilla osittain englanniksi. Oppilaat (N=7) haastateltiin kerran kunkin kevätlukukauden lopulla kuuden ensimmäisen kouluvuoden aikana, mistä koostui 42 audiotallennettua haastattelua pituudeltaan 5–15 minuuttia. Tämä tutkimus oli etnografisia piirteitä sisältävä tapaustutkimus. Tutkimusaineisto analysoitiin kvalitatiivisin sisällönanalyysimenetelmin.

Päätutkimustulos oli se, että oppilaat kykenivät viestimään englannin kielellä käyttämällä useita viestintästrategioita ja kielen funktioita ensimmäiseltä luokalta lähtien. Haastattelijan tehtävä auttaa oppilaita selviytymään haastatteluissa oli erityisen tärkeä luokilla 1–2, jolloin haastattelijan avustuksella oppilaat onnistuivat viestinnässään. Mitä vanhemmaksi oppilaat tulivat, sitä vähemmän haastattelijan apua he tarvitsivat, ja haastattelut muuttuivat yhä enemmän keskustelun kaltaisiksi.

Viestintästrategioiden käyttö vaihteli oppilaittain ja luokkatasoittain. Jotkut oppilaat käyttivät saavutusstrategioita ja toiset taas välttelystrategioita. Alimmilla luokilla havaittiin enemmän välttelystrategioita, mutta haastattelijan avulla viestinnän epäonnistumiset vältettiin. Useita kielen funktioita löytyi myös suomalaisten oppilaiden viestinnällisessä englannin kielen käytössä. Kielen funktiot olivat yleensä luonteeltaan informatiivisia, mutta mitä vanhemmaksi oppilaat tulivat, sitä enemmän perustelufunktioita havaittiin. Oppilaiden käyttämät viestintästrategiat ja kielen funktiot keskittyivät muutamiin tiettyihin kategorioihin luokilla 4–6.

Haastattelija käytti monia strategioita tukeakseen oppilaiden selviytymistä haastatteluissa englannin kielellä. Hän onnistui vaihtelemaan strategioitaan oppilaiden tarpeiden mukaan mahdollistaakseen heidän viestinnällisen englannin kielen käytön, koska haastattelija tunsi oppilaat entuudestaan.

Tutkimus antoi viitteitä siitä, että englannin kielen suullinen harjoittelu pienryhmissä englantia äidinkielenään puhuvan opettajan kanssa luo hyvän ympäristön harjoitella viestinnällistä englannin kielen käyttöä tavoitteellisin päämäärin. Aineisto osoitti myös, että oppilaat, joilla on monikulttuurinen tausta, olivat hyviä viestinnällisessä kielen käytössä yleisesti ja jotkut heistä pystyivät käyttämään useita vieraita kieliä.

Avainsanat: viestinnällinen kielenkäyttö, kommunikaatiostrategiat, kielen funktiot, haastattelijan strategiat, sisältöpainotteinen kielenopetus (CLIL)

Acknowledgements

At Advent 2012

The first candle was lit by Adjunct professor Pirjo Harjanne. Her sparkles when lecturing about communicative language teaching set me on fire. She helped me to start, to continue and to reach the aim. I am so thankful to her.

The second candle was lit by Professor emeritus Seppo Tella, who gave me the possibility to conduct this research project under his supervision. His patient, demanding and wise procedures shed light and guided me in darkness. I express my gratitude to him.

The third candle was lit by my colleques, pupils and friends who challenged, inspired and encouraged me. I thank them all.

I light the fourth candle now, when this passage of my life is coming to an end and a new one is about to begin. I light the candle to thank my family: my mother, my sister, my children and my husband. When all this was about to begin,

my mother said: Yes, you can.
my sister said: Hm.
my children said: Go for it.
my husband said: Be sensible.

Love and its various aspects.

Helinä Rahman

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1 Introduction

1.1 The importance of communication in a foreign language

Communication has a significant role in society. Skills to communicate and especially to communicate in a foreign language are highly thought of. That is why schools have an important role in teaching pupils to learn to use various communication skills. Communication and communication in a foreign language are highlighted in the Finnish National Core Curriculum (FNCC 2004; in Finnish POPS), which is the basis for basic education intended for pupils in compulsory education. POPS (2004) demands foreign language teaching to give pupils capabilities for functioning in foreign-language communication situations. The pupils also learn that language as a skill subject and a means of communication requires long-term and diversified practice of communication. (POPS 2004, 138–139; FNCC 2004.)

The ability to speak foreign languages is very important for Finns because we speak a language that not many other people speak or understand. Communication with other people is important, but it is difficult without a common language. The European integration process has brought Finns closer to other Europeans, and on the whole, globalisation has brought different peoples closer to each other by creating more interactions and situations to encounter people from all over the world. The Finnish society has become multicultural because of immigration: people speak, hear and listen to foreign languages more and more (see Sajavaara, Luukka & Pöyhönen 2007, 13).

The Finnish school system offers a variety of choices to study foreign languages and foreign language teaching has long traditions in Finland. Communication and interaction play an important role in studying pupils' communicative language use, as it does in the Common European Framework of References for Languages (CEFR 2001; EKV 2004) in its language policy. CEFR (2001) sets communication and interaction in focus in foreign language teaching and sets basic principles for European language policy. Kohonen (2008) states that CEFR (2001) has set emphasis on a board learner-centered orientation in foreign language teaching aiming at plurilingualism, pluriculturalism and learner autonomy (Kohonen 2008, 99). CEFR considers the rich heritage of diverse languages and cultures in Europe as a valuable common recourse to be protected and developed. Better knowledge of European languages facilitates *communication* and *interaction* among Europeans. Language is a dynamic system, which contains the ecological interactions of many players: people who want to communicate and a world

to talk about (Ellis 2008, 232). CEFR (2001) describes any form of language use and learning as follows:

> *"Language use, embracing language learning, comprises the action performed by persons who as individuals and as social agents develop a range of competences, both general and in particular communicative language competences. They draw on the competences at their disposal in various contexts under various conditions and under constrains to engage in language activities involving language processes to produce and/or receive texts in relation to themes in specific domains, activating those strategies which seem most appropriate for carrying out the tasks to be accomplished. The monitoring of these actions by the participants leads to the reinforcement or modification of their competences."* (CEFR 2001, 9.)

Communication, also in a foreign language, includes language use, which according to Gatbonton and Segalowitz becomes communicative when it contains interaction and communication has a purpose (Gatbonton and Segalowitz 2005, 331). Communicative language use of English is the focus of the present study as it is required in all sectors of life both in education and work as well as media and hobbies. Communication is very much English-centered and it is important to be part of and capable of this development. To communicate in a foreign language is not always easy and because of that communication strategies are needed to overcome problems in communication.

Though foreign language teaching has long traditions in Finland, speaking foreign languages has been a challenge for Finns. It is neither a question of proficiency, nor ability. Finns know how to speak and how to use language, but still some of them hesitate to speak. To make Finns talk more both in classrooms and in real life encounters communicative language teaching (CLT) has been promoted in Finnish foreign language teaching. There are many different approaches to communicative language teaching, for instance immersion and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), which both support communication and communicative language use in a foreign language and develop language users' social competence.

At the time this research started, the Report of the Language Education Policy (Kielikoulutuspoliittisen projektin loppuraportti 2007) had been published. The report discusses the needs, quantity, quality and focus of language teaching in Finland and claims that language teaching is still guided by quite traditional concepts of language and language ability. Society is in change and because of that, language use and language ability are also changing. Oral skills, different language profiles and strategic skills in language use are more important than earlier. The report set as one of the recommendations to

strengthen the oral language ability in language education in Finland. (Pöyhönen and Luukka 2007, 453.)

Suggestions to improve Finns' language use were made as well as recommendations to develop language teaching. In the report, Ringbom (2007) recognised the problems which Finns have in communication and interaction for the most as problems in common culture bidden social skills and communication skills. The lack of socio-pragmatic competence is the main issue which lies behind the Finns' language competence. Ringbom suggests that Finnish language instruction should stress intercultural communication skills in language instruction. (Ringbom 2007, 194–195.)

Also Iivonen and Tella (2009) underline that good oral skills and listening comprehension skills in foreign language provide participation in more and more demanding social encounters and interaction. They recognise the importance of qualified teaching to develop pupils' language use. (Iivonen and Tella 2009, 278.)

I am interested in pupils' ability to use a foreign language to communicate, which is the focus of this study and which is the aim of Finnish Education Policy in teaching foreign languages. As Council of Europe (CEFR 2001) sets the current emphasis on the functional, communicative use of language in context in foreign language instruction, in this study report the focus is exactly there. This study aims to contribute to actual discussions of communicative foreign language teaching and pupils' communicative foreign language use in Finland.

1.2 Background elements

During more than 20 years or so it has become increasingly commonplace in many European countries for mainstream schools to use English as a medium of instruction in non-language subjects. European Union language policies on multilingualism have paved the way for the attempts of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) education in Europe while development, globalisation and internationalisation have led to English often being chosen as the language of instruction. (Nikula 2007, 206.)

Initially, the Finnish National Board of Education launched CLIL as a 2-year experiment in Turku in 1990. Content-based foreign language teaching started from grade 1 and continued through basic education. I had the possibility to work as a class teacher in this experiment and since then I have been involved in CLIL as a class teacher and later as a teacher trainer. As a class teacher in CLIL I have noticed that it is challenging to make pupils speak in English in class. In early grades, it is obvious that the lack of foreign language competence hinders speaking. In the Turku teacher training school,

where I worked during this research process, CLIL-pupils' oral language use was documented by an audio-recorded interview each school year. Those interviews were conducted by a native speaker of English, whose comments about my pupils' speaking in interviews were interesting: those pupils, who usually kept me busy by disturbing lessons, not following my teaching or not being able to convince me of their learning of English, were the interviewer's favourite interviewees. They were active in interviews and were able to communicate successfully even in grade 1. Also some of those pupils who seemed to me to be quiet, to dream or to be afraid of responding in classroom showed themselves in positive light as language users in the interviews according to the interviewer. My assumptions had been that skilful, diligent, hard working and active pupils would also be good at communicative language use of English in interviews. Curiosity grew.

The audio-recorded interviews available made it possible to examine pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews during pupils' early years at school. Savignon (2007) suggests that

> *...the empowerment of language teachers as both practitioners and theory builders is essential in addressing the language needs of the next generation of learners. The extent to which a holistic, interactive, and learner-oriented CLT conception of language use and language learning can be implemented in classroom teaching practises will depend ultimately on the ability of applied linguists, practioners, and policy makers to work together.* (Savignon 2007, 218.)

I have worked as a class teacher in a Content and Language Integrated Learning from more than 20 years. Along those pioneering years I have gathered information, experience and silent knowledge in a classroom and I agree as Savignon (2007, 218) argues that the empowerment of language teachers as both practitioners and theory builders is essential. There is need for research in CLIL context, because theory in CLIL is still in the initial stages. Also there is need for research in multilingual or multicultural school context, because multilingual and multicultural schools take over not only in Finland, but also in Europe, and even globally. The research plan of a practise-oriented class teacher took wind under her wings and got started.

1.3 Purpose of this study

The purpose of this study is to describe, analyse and interpret Finnish pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews in basic education. The communicative language use is studied through the analysis of communication strategies and language functions. Also the interviewer's strategies of helping pupils to cope in interviews are studied. The focus in the present

research is to study pupils' communicative language use of English, not in terms of the technical production of speech, but as a communicative oral phenomenon.

Pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews in this research is a context, which is not inside classroom, nor completely outside classroom, but somewhere in between. Foreign language teaching within the socio-cultural context and communication and interaction are issues which frame the research context. I understand that inside classroom is the context, where pupils use English in interaction with a teacher and classmates. Outside the classroom is, in my opinion, the context in which use of English takes place elswhere in interactions with other pupils or adults through hobbies, media and families.

Finnish pupils, whose communicative language use of English is studied in the present research, live and attend school in Finland. Some of them have an immigrant background. The pupils speak Finnish language as their mother tongue or their L2[1] or L3[2]. Some of them use several languages at school and home contexts. The term, Finnish pupils in this study report, is not what one would expect, but it contains a variety of pupils with multilingual and multicultural backgrounds. The pupils' identities, as plurilingual language users, are strongly present.

Research has earlier focused mostly on pupils' language testing in oral proficiency. For example, there are many studies on dialogue (see Swain 2001; Wesche & Paribakt 2000). Although pupils' oral proficiency testing research in Finland in foreign language context exists (see Saleva 1997; Takala 1993; Hildén 2000), research results relating pupils' communicative foreign language use in interviews do not exist in Finland. However, foreign language communicative oral practice in Swedish-language classroom has been studied (see Harjanne 2006) and pupils' language use of English in CLIL classroom interactions as well (see Nikula 2007, Llinares et al. 2012).

Communicative foreign language use challenges pupils in speaking and using both in classrooms and in real life contexts. Today's world has created multilingual language use environments where communicative foreign language use is essential. Foreign language teaching has left behind drilling and wordlists and instead has concentrated in preparing pupils to communicate. Obtaining the possibility to have access to pupils' foreign language use in interviews creates a perfect frame for the present study. There is need for research of pupil' communicative language use in a communicative foreign language use context.

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[1] L2=second language

[2] L3=third language

1.4 Theoretical view

The theoretical view of the present study in which I describe, analyse and interpret Finnish pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews in basic education grades 1–6 is formed by an intertwined whole of several areas. Creswell (1994, 94) claims that in qualitative research one does not begin with a theory to test or verify, but the theory may emerge during data collection and analysis phase of research to be used relatively late in the research process as a basis for comparison with other theories. There are also those who argue that theory must come before ideas in empirical research (Berg 1995, 15).

The concepts *theory before-research* and *research-before theory* compete. It is necessary to combine both concepts due to two reasons: the data collection of this research and my personal growing as a researcher. Before presenting theories I first describe the issues which lead to essential theories. The study is not classroom research perse, though the data is gathered at school. The study does not discuss language teaching precisely, though the pupils study in English in CLIL and learn at least some of their English skills at school. The social context of a multicultural and multilingual school creates encounters to interactions for pupils in a foreign language. The pupils' communicative language use of English cannot be directly seen as a product of foreign language teaching, but there are other parallel contexts which have had influence on the pupils' communicative language use of English. So it is difficult to assess and include the relative contributions that interaction may or may not have on pupils' communicative language use of English.

Pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews in basic education grades 1–6 can be discussed on two different theoretical aspects. The pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews documents pupils' speaking of English, their communicative language use, which sets one of the theory basis in communication (chapters 2 and 3). The pupils study in CLIL and interviews take place in a slight connection with foreign language teaching which leads to theories in communicative language teaching and creates the second basis for theory (chapter 4).

The theoretical framework for this study is grounded firstly in theories regarding communicative language use, which consists of communication strategies (i.a., Tarone 1980; Canale & Swain 1980; Tarone & Yule 1989; Yule & Tarone 1997; Dornyei & Scott 1997; Savignon 2002). Secondly, theories in language functions (i.a., Jakobson 1960; Hymes 1974; Halliday 1975; Brown & Yule 1983; Kumpulainen & Wray 2002) are discussed. And thirdly, foreign language teaching theories (i.a., Long 1985; Swain 1993; Firth and Wagner 1997; Ellis 1994, 2003, 2008; Larsen-Freeman 2000; Savi-

gnon 2002; Harjanne & Tella 2009) are studied. The research context is approached in the socio-cultural theory of mind (i.a., Vygotsky 1978; Wertsch 1985; Luria 1997; Lantolf 2000; Säljö 2000; 2001).

According to the socio-cultural theory, learning takes place in interaction in a social group. The socio-cultural theory, with the holistic perspective, stresses the social factors in learning and communication (Ohta 2000, 53). According to Säljö (2001, 86), language is simultaneously a collective, interactive and personal socio-cultural tool. Therefore language can be seen as a connection between culture, interaction and individual thinking. There are socio-cultural and constructivist views on language learning (for example Donato 2000, Lantolf 2000). Interaction in interviews is the scene of this study and language use plays the major role in it. The data raised the social context to be considered, too. The context is multilingual and multicultural, and it is included to the study (chapter 5).

In Figure 1, the theoretical contexts are depicted as three overlapping circles in the communication framework. Communication is the platform, on which foreign language teaching, multilingual language use environment and the communicative language use interact. The intersection of all the three circles demonstrates the focus of this study, the pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews. The Finnish pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews in basic education grades 1–6 takes place through communication in a foreign language in a multilingual school context.

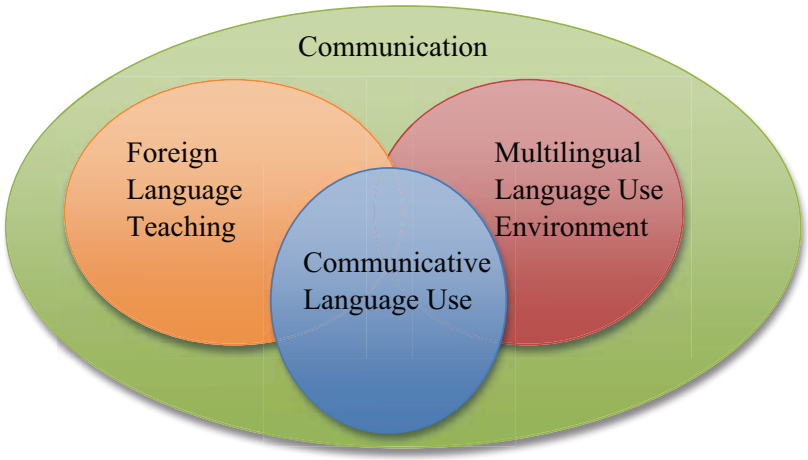

Figure 1. The theoretical framework of the pupils'communicative language use of English in interviews.

2 Communication and Its Various Aspects

In this chapter, I will discuss the nature of communication which forms the background for communicative language use and its various aspects. I will discuss communication through interaction and communicative competence which are important factors in communicative language use.

2.1 Communication and interaction

Communication sets the scene for communicative language use in the present study. The pupils' communicative language use takes place in interaction with the interviewer in the interviews. Interaction is, according to Brown (2001), the heart of communication. Interaction really is communication in the sense that we receive and send messages, interpret them in a context, negotiate meanings and co-operate to reach the goals set in interaction. Brown (2001) argues that interaction is changing thoughts and emotions together with two or more participants which affects all of them. (Brown 2001, 165.) Communication necessitates interaction, and it also includes interaction.

In interaction at least two individuals participate in an oral and/or written exchange in which production and reception alternate, and in oral communication may in fact overlap. Two interlocutors may be speaking and listening to each other simultaneously. Interaction schemata consist of patterns of social interaction: question, answer, statement-agreement, disagreement and greeting-response. (CEFR 2001, 14.)

Most forms of communication occur through language and language develops in interaction. Language has a significant role both in communication and in interaction. In the present study, communication takes place in a foreign language, which makes communication more demanding. Ellis (2008) sees language as a dynamic system, which contains the ecological interactions of many players: people who want to communicate and a world to talk about (Ellis 2008, 232).

Swain (2001) argues that the learner's drive to communicate successfully in a foreign language makes one go beyond the cognitive activity in comprehension and to engage in more complete grammatical processing. In an attempt to communicate, one creates linguistic form and meaning and finally discovers the limitations of one's ability to communicate successfully. According to Swain, this may stimulate a learning process naturally depending on the individuals and circumstances. Swain claims that the attempt to com-

municate is the view of output being embedded in the concept of language as a communicative activity. (Swain 2001, 279.)

When studying spoken language, traditional linguistics have concentrated on analysing autonomous linguistic systems of phonetic, syntactic, semantic and overall semiotic structures. Speech specialists have been concerned about irregularities and disfluencies in the pathology of spoken language. Spoken interaction requires active participation by both speakers in a dialogue. Both participants have to speak and listen. Some kind of oral responding is expected, at least in the form of backchannels which can reflect empathy, enthusiasm, indignation, lack of interest, indifference and impatience. (Stenström 1994.)

Communication has become even more important in school contexts, too. Young language learners are taught to communicate and to cope in real life encounters. Dalton-Buffer et al. (2010) studied CLIL pupils' oral production in bilingual Spanish-English context. They argue, that one learns language by taking part in social interaction, as it is understood in socio-cultural theory. (Dalton-Buffer et al. 2010, 279–292.) Interaction research has reached classrooms in CLIL, too.

Also Nikula (2007) has studied classroom interaction in a foreign language teaching context concentrating on CLIL pupils' language use in classrooms. Nikula's findings suggest that CLIL pupils claim ownership of English by the way they confidently use it as a resource for the construction of classroom activities (Nikula 2007, 220–221). Later Nikula (2010) studied a teacher's instruction in English and Finnish and noticed that transitions to subject-specific language use were less salient in CLIL instruction than in L1. Llinares and Whittaker (2010) found out that the appropriate language of history in speaking and writing is problematic for both CLIL and L1 students.

Pupils' communicative oral practice in a foreign language classroom has been studied (Harjanne 2006) as well as English pupils' peer interaction in classroom (Kumpulainen & Wray 2002). Harjanne (2006) claims that a foreign language cannot be studied or practised as units detached from context, but it requires that the students elaborate and autonomously generate language in context-based and meaningful communication in social interaction (Harjanne 2006, 316). Interaction research exists also in immersion context: Södergård´s (2002) research in an immersion day care (Swedish language) shows that the interaction between the teacher and the children in the target language develops the children's output in immersion language.

Kurata (2011) explored in longitudinal case studies of interaction between language learners and speakers of the foreign language within their informal social contexts. Kurata argues that even for motivated learners opportunities

to use the foreign language are limited. She suggests factors that promote language use and opportunities for learning. She proposes ways around obstacles to opportunities for second language use and second language learning and sets out important implications for language learning in and outside classrooms.

Kurhila (2006) has studied interactional understanding in talk between native and non-native speakers. Kurhila took an interactional view by showing how meaningful the details of interaction are, and how a rough predefined categorisation of utterances can do injustice to the data by obscuring or hiding the systemacity or the richness of the participants' ways of constructing conversation and managing various activities. Kurhila focused on three phenomena in which the participants' orientation to understanding surfaces in interaction: other-correction, word search and candidate understandings, more precise in repair, negotiation of meaning, recasts, feedback and modification. The individual features of the mechanism have been isolated and employed in analysis. According to Kurhila (2006) the distribution of these phenomena is related to the participants' identities as native or non-native speakers. However, Kurhila claims that the nativeness or non-nativeness is not relevant in conversation all the time if the speakers have equal access to linguistic resources. Interestingly, Kurhila shows that appealing for help, which is considered an interactional communication strategy in communication strategy literature (e.g. Færch & Kasper 1983; Tarone 1983, 62; Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991, 127; Yule & Tarone 1997), was not used to ask for help from the native speaker, but it was rather self-directed. Kurhila (2006) had an interactionally attuned and context-sensitive perspective.

All in all, interaction is seen as an essential context to stimulate communicative language use in a foreign language. Interaction is considered an important context both in communication and in learning. Interaction gives a framework for learning, also foreign languages. Communicative language use is and has been ideal language learning environment. To succeed in communicative language use, one has to possess adequate communicative competence.

2.2 Communicative competence

Hymes (1972) was among the first to use the term *communicative competence* and to recognise its importance in language development. Hymes also introduced the concept of cultural interference which he defines as falling back on one's native culture when communicating with another (Hymes 1972, 277–278; 1974). Savignon (1972) used the term communicative com-

petence to characterise the ability of classroom language learners to interact with other speakers.

Communicative competence refers, according to Canale and Swain (1980), to the relationship between grammatical competences, knowledge of the rules of the grammar and sociolinguistic competence, or knowledge of the rules of language use (Canale & Swain, 1980, 8). Canale and Swain's framework for communicative competence involves four areas of knowledge and skills. They are *grammatical competence* including vocabulary and rules of word formation, pronunciation, spelling and sentence formation; *sociolinguistic competence* which addresses the extent to which utterances are produced and understood appropriately also including knowledge of speech acts; *discourse competence* involving mastery of how to combine grammatical forms and meanings to achieve a unified spoken or written text in different genres; and *strategic competence* referring to the mastery of communication strategies. (Swain 1985, 188.)

According to Savignon (1972), communicative competence has come to mean the ability of learners to interact with other speakers to make meaning. Later Savignon (2002) stressed also socio-cultural contexts of competence, claiming that language teaching is based on a view of language as communication and language is seen as a social tool which speakers use to make meaning. Diversity in output is recognised and also accepted as part of language development and use of second language learners and users. A learner's competence is considered in relative, but not absolute terms of correctness. More than one variety of a language is recognised as a model for learning and teaching. No single methodology or technique is prescribed. Culture plays an instrumental role in shaping speakers' communicative competence. Language use is recognised as serving the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. It is essential that learners use language for a variety of purposes in all phases of learning. (Savignon 2002, 6.)

The Common European Framework of Reference for languages (CEFR 2001; EKV 2003) is one of the guidelines to describe how to better implement language learning and assessment. It gives a detailed description of communicative competence. CEFR (2001) divides communicative competence into two parts, general competencies and communicative language competencies. General competence consists of (i) declarative competence (knowledge of the world, socio-cultural knowledge, intercultural awareness), (ii) skills and know how (practical skills and know-how, intercultural skills and know-how) and (iii) existential competence (attitudes, motivations, values, beliefs, cognitive styles, personality factors). Communicative language competencies are comprised of several components which are lin-

guistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competences. Linguistic competences consist of (i) lexical, (ii) grammatical, (iii) semantic, (iv) phonological, (v) orthographic and (vi) orthoepic competences.

Lexical competence is knowledge of and ability to use the vocabulary of a language. Grammatical competence is the knowledge of and ability to use grammatical resourses of a language. Semantic competence deals with the learner's awareness and control of the organisation of meaning. Phonological competence involves a knowledge of and skill in perception and production of sound-units, phonetic features and sentence phonetics, some to mention. Orthographic competence involves knowledge of and skills in the perception and production of written text symbols. Orthoepic competence is the ability to use in speech words first encountered in the written form.

Sociolinguistic competence deals with the knowledge and skills required in the social dimension of language use. The social component affects all language communication between representatives of different cultures, even though participants may be unaware of its influence. Sociolinguistic competence consists of linguistic markers of social relations, e.g. greetings; politeness conventions, e.g. using please and thank you; expressions of folk wisdom e.g. proverbs, idioms and expressions; register differences e.g. level of formality and dialect and accent e.g. national origin and ethnicity. Pragmatic competence is divided into discourse competence, functional competence and design competence. Pragmatic competence concerns with the functional use of linguistic resourses, such as production of language functions and speech acts.

Discourse competence relates to a user's or a learner's knowledge of principles according to which messages are organised, structured and arranged. Discourse competence is the ability of a user or learner to arrange sentences to be able to produce coherent stretches of language and the ability to structure and manage discourse in terms of thematic organisation, coherence and cohesion, logical ordering, style, register and rhetorical effectiveness. Discourse competence deals with flexibility, turn-taking, thematic development, coherence, propositional precision and spoken fluency. A learner starts with simple and short turns when using a foreign language. At higher levels of proficiency the development of discourse competence becomes more important.

Functional competence is concerned with the use of spoken discourse and written texts in communication for particular functional purposes. Knowing which particular functions to use is not enough. A user or a learner has to be aware of micro-functions and macro-functions of the language. Micro-functions are for the functional use of single utterances, such as turns in

interaction. Micro-functions are categorised in imparting and seeking factual information (identifying, asking, answering); expressing and finding out attitudes (facts, emotions and volition), suasion, socialising, structuring discourse and communication repair. Macro-functions consist of description, narration, instruction and argumentation as an example. Functional competence includes knowledge and ability to use the patterns of social interaction in communication. The functional success of the learner or user demands both fluency which is the ability to articulate, to keep going and to cope in a dead end; and propositional precision which is the ability to formulate thoughts and propositions so as to make one's meaning clear. (CEFR 2001, 13, 108–130, 223; EVK 2003, 91–130, 203.)

CEFR (2001) is one of the present quidelines in aiming to facilitate communication and interaction among Europeans. It describes any form of communicative competence and gives a very detailed description of those communicative competences that the language user needs to communicate successfully. CEFR has laid an emphasis on learner-centred orientation in foreign language teaching aiming at plurilingualism, multiculturalism and learner autonomy. It has an action-oriented notion of communication. The notion of plurilingual and pluricultural competence involves a complex, multiple language competence. The approach emphasises initiative taking, interaction and social responsibility leading to democratic citizenship education for multilingual and multicultural Europe. Intercultural communication is in focus. However, CEFR is rather demanding to be adopted. It requires former theoretical understanfing to be fully used by teachers in practical school contexts.

Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) do not see the communicative competence as important as researchers and teachers have traditionally considered. They argue that successful communication comes less from knowing which communication strategy to use at which point of interaction than it does from choosing which speech style to speak with whom, about what and for what effect. Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) claim that the notion of symbolic competence is a way of conceiving of both communicative and intercultural competences in multilingual settings. The language user has to learn to see oneself through one's own history and subjectivity and through the history and subjectivity of others. (Kramsch & Whiteside 2008, 2, 24.)

Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) discuss important concepts concerning multilingual setting and language use. Their opinions differ radically from earlier results of communicative competence and communication strategies research. They claim that symbolic competence, in other words one's own subjective view and experience of life together with that of others enable the

communication in multilingual settings. Their arguments raise questions about how language users enhance the knowledge of the history and subjectivity of others and how one can find and recognise one's own. Kramsch and Whiteside's arguments are not adequate when dealing with children because children are not old enough nor capable enough to make use of symbolic competence. I think that children are not able to see themselves through their own history and subjectivity and through the history and subjectivity of others. Children are too young to possess the knowledge of the history and subjectivity of others and they are hardly able to find and recognise their own (see Kramsch & Whiteside 2008, 2, 24).

I find Savignon's (2002) concepts of communicative competence in language use together with CEFR (2001) parallel to my understanding of communicative competence. The ability of learners to interact with other speakers to make meaning in socio-cultural contexts of competence suggests the need for language teaching that is based on a view of language as a communication. I find the holistic view important in which a learner's competence is considered in relative, but not absolute terms of correctness.

3 Communicative language use

Communicative language use is a major concept in the present study. I will discuss it through two main aspects which are essential for my research focus: communication strategies and language functions. Communicative language use is often discussed within the socio-cultural theory of mind. The language users communicate in a context which is social and situated (see Vygotsky 1978; Luria 1997; Wertsch 1985). According to Gatbonton and Segalowitz (2005), language use becomes communicative when it contains interaction and communication has a purpose. The purpose or the function determines the direction of the communicative language use and communication strategies help to reach the goal.

3.1 Communication strategies

Communication strategies used in a foreign language context are the focus of this study. I am going to discuss the different concepts, definitions and taxonomies of communication strategies in this chapter. It is worth mentioning that the concepts, definitions and taxonomies vary considerably. Communication strategies form a complex web of concepts for researchers and no single understanding of communication strategies exists but different approaches and definitions occur.

3.1.1 Concepts of communication strategies

The following concepts of communication strategies are based on Dörnyei and Scott's (1997) studies of communication strategies. Communication strategies (CSs) have been under research during the last five decades and therefore there are a huge number of concepts available. Researchers defined the notion of second language (L2) communication strategies at the beginning of the 1970s by recognising the mismatch between L2 speakers' linguistic recourse and communicative resource leading to a number of systematic language phenomena whose main function is to handle difficulties or breakdowns in communication. (Dörnyei & Scott 1997, 173.)

The term *communication strategy* (CS) refers to strategies of second language communication as one of the central processes involved in L2 learning. Savignon (1972) used the term *coping strategies,* meaning CSs, in her report of communicative language teaching and testing. The research regarding CSs became strong in the 1980s when several research reports were published. First Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1983) introduced *strategic com-*

petence and secondly, Færch and Kasper (1983) published *Strategies in Interlanguage Communication.* Researchers became interested in CSs and a growing number of reports were published focusing on identifying and classifying CSs and on their teachability (e.g. Bialystok 1983; Bialystok & Kellerman 1987; Færch & Kasper 1984; Paribakht 1985; Tarone & Yule 1989).

The terms used to describe the concept of communication strategy vary depending on the theoretical approach of the researchers as follows: *coping strategies* (Savignon 1972), *discourse strategies* (Ellis 2003; Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991; Chen 2006), *interactive strategies* (Tarone 1983), *psycholinguistic strategies* (Færch & Kasper 1983; Dörnyei & Kormos 1998), *analytic strategies, production strategies, avoidance strategies* (Tarone 1981), *reduction strategies* (Færch & Kasper 1984), *holistic strategies, cognitive strategies* (Poulisse 1990) and *compensation strategies* (e.g. Bygate 1987; Skehan 1998). Some of the strategies will be discussed later.

There are concepts related to communication strategies such as negotiation of meaning (Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991), scaffolding (Wood et al. 1976, 90) and collaborative dialogue (Wood et al. 1976; Savignon 1983; Swain 2000; Ellis 2003, 182). Negotiation of meaning consists of (i) comprehension checks, (ii) clarification requests, (iii) confirmation checks and (iv) recasts (see Ellis 2003, 71). Much of the research focuses on the same kind of phenomena in interlanguage communication, but the conceptual frameworks used by researchers investigating communication strategies, foreigner talk and repair have been different in the main, and hence caused researchers to see different things in the same data.

3.1.2 Definitions of communication strategies

The traditional view of communication strategies which underline the planning of the utterance and compensating or solving the communication problem produced the following two definitions: conscious communication strategies are used by individuals to overcome the crisis, which occurs when language structures are inadequate to convey the individual's thought and CSs are potentially conscious plans for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal (Færch and Kasper 1983, 36). Canale (1983) defines communication strategies as verbal and non-verbal means of increasing successful interactional communication or means to compensate for the lack of language ability.

Tarone (1980) brings the interactional perspective to her definition claiming that communication strategies relate to a mutual attempt of two interlocutors to agree on a meaning in situations, where requisite meaning structures do not seem to be shared (Tarone 1980, 420). Tarone argues that communica-

tion strategies describe the learners' pattern of using what they know as they try to communicate with speakers of the largest language, and that communication strategies have an interactional function. Specific criteria are suggested for defining the notion of communication strategy as distinguished from learning and production strategies. Tarone defines the characteristics of a communication strategy as follows: (i) a speaker desires to communicate a meaning x to a listener, (ii) the speaker believes the linguistic or sociolinguistic structure designed to communicate meaning x is unavailable, or is not shared with the listener and (iii) the speaker chooses to avoid that is i.e. not attempt to communicate meaning x; or attempt alternate means to communicate meaning x. The speaker stops trying alternative when it seems clear to the speaker that there is shared meaning. Tarone extended the definition with interactional view compared with the previous definitions. (Tarone 1981, 288.)

Long (1983, 131) brings another approach to communication strategies and defines communication strategies in a problem-oriented way (Long 1983, 131). Communication strategies are used to avoid conversational trouble or failure in communication goal-attainment, in contrast to devices applied to repair the discourse when trouble occurs. Færch and Kasper (1983) have also adopted the problem-oriented vision. According to them, CSs are potentially conscious plans for solving what an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular communicative goal (Færch & Kasper 1983, 36). They underline the process which contains a planning phase and an execution phase. Later Færch and Kasper (1984) claim that communication strategies are related to individual language users' experience of communicative problems and solutions (co-operative and non co-operative). They suggest that the CSs are characterised in discourse terms by invoking the notion of conditional relevance.

According to Tarone and Yule (1989) language user needs communication strategies when s/he has difficulties in accessing the desired expression or s/he has difficulties in communicating because of poor pronunciation. There are also dysfunctional strategies which language users use. A common dysfunctional strategy is the speaker's insistence on repeating instead of employing the more effective strategies. This may happen when the speaker does not know the right word. *An avoidance strategy* is to abandon the attempt to refer to the entity at all when the speaker does not know the word. (Tarone & Yule 1989, 110.)

Bialystok (1990) defines a communication strategy in the most general sense, a plan of action to accomplish a communicational goal. Bialystok brings the psychological approach to discuss communication strategies. She

introduces problematicity, consciousness and intentionality to define features of communication strategies. Bialystok goes deep under surfice to find the inner meaning of CSs. (Bialystok 1990, 1–3.)

Færch and Kasper (1997) suggest a *psycholinguistic definition* of communication strategies in which these strategies are related to individual language users' experience of communicative problems and the solutions. Communication strategies are characterised in discourse terms. Interactionally defined communication strategies constitute a subset of psycholinguistically defined strategies, and it is argued that this subset in many respects represents an important area of strategy use. (Færch & Kasper 1997.)

Yule and Tarone (1997) claim that it can be seen a duality in defining communication strategies: (i) the traditional way which focuses on the descriptions of the language produced by foreign language users and which characterises the means used to accomplish reference in terms of the observed form; and (ii) psycholinguistic way which focuses on the description of the psychological process used by foreign language users and which characterises the cognitive decisions one makes to accomplish the reference. (Yule and Tarone 1997.)

Dörnyei (1995, 55) described CS as various verbal and non-verbal means of dealing with difficulties and breakdowns that occur in everyday communication. Dörnyei (1995) argues that a primary source of L2 speakers' communication problems is insufficient processing time. He stressed *problem-solving strategies* (see also Canale 1983 and Savignon 1983).

According to Ellis (2003), a communicative strategy is seen as an adoption of certain line of action in order to maximise effectiveness in communication. Learners use a communication strategy to overcome a communication problem caused by a lack of or inability to access L2 knowledge (Ellis 2003, 340). Foreign language learners choose different strategies to be effective in communication. According to Ellis, foreign language learners who are skilful in using communication strategies and who are able to overcome problems in communication may become so adept at maximising their existing linguistic competence that they have no need to add to it by attending to new ways or forms of input (Ellis 2003, 110).

Genuinely communicative activities require that at least two participants are working together to complete a task by exchanging information possessed by one and not the other. New information must pass from one interlocutor to other and the solicited information must be crucial for the continuation of the task. (Gatbonton & Segalowitz 2005, 331.)

Communication strategies can be divided into *achievement strategies* and *avoidance strategies*. Achievement strategies refer to scaling up and finding

ways to cope in a foreign language. Avoidance strategies are ways to scale down to fit resourses to ensure success in more limited foreign language use. (CEFR 2001, 63.)

There is not a common universally accepted definition of communication strategies, but controversities exist. In this study, I will use the term communication strategy to refer to *the interactional problem-solving means used to cope in communication*. My definition is based on Dörnyei & Scott (1997), Canale (1983) and Tarone (1981) and it takes into consideration what the data provides. I hesitate to take the psycholinguistic view (see e.g. Bialystok 1990), because I find it difficult to identify the psychological processes behind the linguistic output. The interactional aspect is important in the present study because of the interactional character of communication taking place in interviews.

3.1.3 Descriptions of communication strategies

Tarone and Yule (1989) describe communication strategies by dividing them into six different groups as follows: (i) *circumlocution* in which the speaker describes the properties (size, colour, shape and function) of the target object or action, (ii) *approximation* in which the speaker uses a term (a word or a concept) which shares a number of semantic features with the target lexical item or structure, (iii) *literal translation* in which the speaker translates from the native language, (iv) *mime* in which the speaker uses the nonverbal means of communicating, (v) *message abandonment* in which the speaker starts out using some communication strategies but then gives up and stops talking and (vi) *topic avoidance* in which the speaker does not talk about the topic. Advanced language learners often use circumlocution and approximation but young learners usually do not use them. (Tarone & Yule 1989: 105, 110–112, 194.)

Avoiding is a communication strategy, which according to Kellerman (1991), consists of three types: (i) the learner knows or anticipates the coming problem and avoids it; (ii) the learner knows what the target is but finds it too difficult to use it and (iii) the learner knows what to say and how to say but is unwilling to say it (Kellerman 1991, 142–161). Compensating consists of translation, transfer and code-switching. Swain and Lapkin (2000) found that pupils used their mother tongue for three main reasons: (i) moving the task along, (ii) focusing attention and (iii) interpersonal interaction. Turn-taking is used for taking turn in speaking (Long 1997; Ellis 2003). Private speech is an utterance in which one speaks to him or herself usually in low voice or whispering. Private speech in mother tongue helps the pupil to focus, to move along and to interact (see also Swain & Lapkin 2000; Saville-Troike 1988).

Negotiation of meaning consists of finding the accordance of the meaning of a word or an utterance (see also Long 1997; Mitchell and Myles 1998). Scaffolding refers to helping the speaker at the time by providing the right or missing word (Wood and al. 1976). Negotiation of meaning is a way to solve communicative break downs by comprehension checks, clarification requests and confirmation checks. Negotiation of meaning comes along in problems with vocabulary. (see Ellis 2003, 71, 86–87.)

Dörnyei & Scott (1997) discuss problem-orientedness and consciousness as defining criteria for communication strategies, offer a comprehensive list of strategic language devices, and describe the major CS taxonomies. According to Dörnyei and Scott (1997) the reader may use an inventory of different communication strategy taxonomies which were defined in research so far. These are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. Description of communication strategies according to Dörnyei & Scott (1997, 197).

Strategy	**Description**
Message abandonment	Leaving a message unfinished because of some language difficulty.
Message reduction (topic avoidance)	Reducing the message
Message replacement	Substituting the original message
Circumlocution	Exemplifying, illustrating properties
Approximation	Using a single alternative lexical item
Use of all purpose word	The overuse of thing, stuff, make, do
Word-coinance	Creating a non-existing word
Restructuring	Abandoning verbal plan
Literal translation (transfer)	Translation literally from L1/L3 to L2
Foreignizing	Using L1/L3 word by adjusting it to L2 phonology
Code switching	Including L1/L3 words with L1/L3 pronunciation in L2
Use of similar sounding words	Using an item that sounds similar
Mumbling	Swallowing or muttering
Omission	Leaving a gap
Retrieval	Saying several wrong forms before the right one
Self-repair	Correcting one's own speech
Other-repair	Correcting interlocutor's speech
Self-rephrasing	Repeating the term, nearly correctly
Over-explicitness (waffling)	Using more words
Mime	Using non-verbal means

Use of fillers	Using gambits
Self-repetition	Repeating words
Other-repetition	Repeating interlocutor's words
Feigning understanding	Pretending to understand
Verbal strategy markers	Using verbal marking phrases before or after a strategy
Direct appeal for help	Asking for help
Indirect appeal for help	Trying to elicit help
Asking for repetition	Requesting for repetition
Asking for clarification	Requesting for clarification
Asking for confirmation	Requesting for confirmation
Guessing	Guessing
Expressing non-understanding	Expressing not to understand
Interpretive summary	Checking that the speaker has understood correctly
Comprehension check	Asking questions to check understanding
Own accuracy check	Checking that what you said was correct
Response: repeat	Repeating the original trigger
Response: repair	Providing other-initiated self-repair
Response: rephrase	Rephrasing the trigger
Response: expand	Putting the item to a larger context
Response: confirm	Confirming what the interlocutor has said
Response: reject	Rejecting what the interlocutor has said

Dörnyei & Scott's (1997) descriptions constitute a comprehensive taxonomy in the field of communication strategies. Strategies have been combined to larger categories or other concepts have been used but the essence of strategies is more or less the same in different definitions. Dörnyei & Scott's (1997) descriptions (Table 1) are useful in defining the taxonomy of communication strategies for this present study in combination with CEFR (2001, 222) and EVK (2003, 123–124, 132) which divide communication strategies into three different categories: (i) reception (identifying cues and inferring, code); (ii) interaction (turn-taking, co-operating and asking for clarification) and (iii) production (planning, compensating, monitoring, risk-taking and repair).

Communication strategies are an important part of communicative language use in a foreign language. The lack of sufficient language competence is the main reason to use communication strategies. Poulisse (1990) reported that weak language learners use more often communication strategies than diligent language learners. Poulisse investigated compensatory strategies at

different L2 levels, in L1 and L2 and in terms of efficiency. The data consisted 45 Dutch learners of English at three levels of acquisition: advanced, intermediate and low who produced transcripts of four tasks: (i) photo description, (ii) description of drawings in L1 and L2, (iii) retelling stories and (iv) interview. The data was classified into conceptual (analytic and holistic) and linguistic (morphological and transfer) categories. The results show that strategies vary inversely according to proficiency, vary partly in type according to proficiency, vary according to task and vary according to superordinate versus subordinate level.

Bialystok (1990) studied CSs in children, student and adult L2 language use comparing range and distribution of CSs. The subjects had to describe a complex picture in French (L2). Bialystok found out, that children, students and adults acted similarly. Circumlocution was used the most frequently, approximation was the next most freguently used, and other strategies were not nearly used at all. Approximation increased and circumlocution decreased, when the age of the subjects increased. Tarone and Yule have come to the contrary conclusion in their studies. They argue, that circumlocution and approximation are rare communication strategies in young learners' language use (Tarone & Yule 1989, 110–112).

All in all, the earlier presented diverse CSs offer a wide scale to a language user to successfully pass the obstacles in one's communicative language use with functional aims. In this research I stress the interactional character of the communication strategies, and I refer to the interactional problem-solving means used to cope in communication, as a definition of communication strategies. I have come to this definition because of the character of the pupils' communicative language use context in English. The pupils' interviews are interactional, problems occur in using a foreign language, and the pupils have to cope to communicate successfully. Communication strategies are in close relation with language functions which I will discuss in the next chapter.

3.2 Language functions

Language functions, in addition to communication strategies, are the focus of the study of the pupils' communicative language use of English in the present report. Language functions are an essential part of the communicative language use which has various aims, that is to say functions. Language use has always a function either formal, e.g. informational function or informal e.g. interpersonal function. Language functions are means of conveying information, emotion, opinion and action, some to mention.

3.2.1 Definitions of language functions

The function of language is the expression of meaning (Harjanne and Tella 2009). There are number of ways to define language functions. In the following I will discuss some of them.

Jakobson's (1960) model distinguishes six elements or factors of language which are necessary for communication to occur: (i) context (ii) addresser, (iii) addressee, (iv) contact, (v) code and (vi) message which are target factors. Jakobson defines language functions as follows: (i) informative, (ii) emotive, (iii) conative, (iv) phatic, (v) referential and (vi) poetic. The referential function refers to the message in a context, which the addressee can seize. It is oriented toward the context where as the emotive function is toward the addresser. The emotive aim is the direct expression of the speaker's attitude towards the message. The conative function refers to the addressee. In the conative function part/kind of message is not liable to a truth test and/or that is performative. The phatic function is toward contact, and parts of message are used to establish, prolong or discontinue communication; to attract/confirm the attention of the addressee. The poetic function is toward the message. The metalingual function is toward code and it contains elements that make sure the addresser and adressee understand each other. (Jakobson 1960.)

Hymes (1974) used the term *communicative functions of language*. He defined seven groups in communicative functions of language: (i) *expressive emotive function* in other words expressed emotions, (ii) *directive function* which contains cognitive, pragmatic, persuasive and opinion-influencing, (iii) *poetic function*; (iv) *contact function* that is transmission and contact; (v) *metalinguistic function*; (vi) *representational/ reference function* which concerns topic content and (vii) *contextual function* which means the context. (Hymes 1974, 56–57.)

According to Halliday (1975), learning the mother tongue requires mastering of seven basic functions of language which are (i) *instrumental*, (ii) *regulatory*, (iii) *interactional*, (iv) *personal*, (v) *heuristic*, (vi) *representatio*nal and (vii) *imaginative*. The instrumental function serves a child's material needs and includes expression of desire *I want*. The regulatory function is causing and controlling *Do as I tell you*. The interactional function enables individuals to initiate and maintain social contact and to create a sense of identity for the self and the group *Me and you.* The personal function expresses the ability to express feelings and attitudes *Here I come*. The heuristic function explores the environment outside the self *Tell me why*. The representational function makes it possible to convey messages that have a specific reference to something in the real world *I have got something to tell you*.

Imaginative function reflects the ability to use and appreciate language as a creative medium *Let's pretend* to create and consider possibilities. It includes the use of puns, rhyme, alliteration and other poetic and literary devices. (Halliday 1975, 19–37.)

Later Halliday (2004) reduced language functions into fewer categories. Halliday divided the use of language to fulfil three main meta-functions which are (i) ideational function, (ii) interpersonal function and (iii) textual function. Ideational function is to represent reality. Interpersonal function refers to interaction with others. Textual function is to build text. (Halliday 2004, 29–30.)

According to Finch (1998), the use of language as a primary means of communicating our thoughts is so natural that it is often difficult to realise what in fact language functions are. Language functions can be divided into two categories: micro-functions and macro-functions. Micro-functions refer to specific individual uses and macro-functions serve more overall aims. The micro-functions consist of (i) physiological, (ii) phatic, (iii) recording, (iv) identifying, (v) reasoning, (vi) communicating and (vii) pleasure. The physiological function serves to release physical and nervous energy and rarely convey any meaning but makes the speaker to feel better. The phatic function serves sociability, lacks any informative content, is intended to link people and makes the coexistence peaceful and pleasant. The recording function denotes using language to make record of evens to be remembered. The identifying function identifies objects and events. The reasoning function is the instrument of thought. The macro-functions are (i) ideational, (ii) interpersonal, (iii) poetic and (iv) textual. The ideational function refers to the conceptualizing process in our mental activities. The interpersonal function defines language as a social phenomenon that enables communication between people. The poetic function refers to the ability to manipulate language in a creative way. The textual function refers to the ability to create long utterances or pieces of writing which are both cohesive and coherent. (Finch 1998.)

Micro-functions are categorised as imparting and seeking factual information (identifying, asking and answering); expressing and finding out attitudes (facts, emotions and volition), persuasion, socialising, structuring discourse and communication repair. Macro-functions consist of description, narration, instruction and argumentation as an example. Functional competence includes the knowledge and ability to use patterns of social interaction in communication. The functional success of the learner or user demands both fluency, which is the ability to articulate, to keep going and to cope with a dead end and propositional precision which is the ability to formulate

thoughts and propositions so as to make one's meaning clear. (CEFR 2001, 13, 108–130, 223; EVK 2003, 176–177.)

Brown and Yule (1983) divided language functions into two categories: (i) interactional and (ii) transactional. The interactional function consists of making contact and keeping contact. The transactional function consists of changing information. Brown and Yule's categories are wide and they must contain sub-categories to be more precise. As Kurhila (2006) puts it, we do not speak in order to produce words and grammar but we speak in order to achieve various aims, to have an effect on other people. The functional approach to language contains many points of view that one can take and there are many functions that natural languages fulfil. Depending on the approach, the number of functions and the concepts might vary. The central and most general, tenet of functionalism is that language is, first and foremost, a means of human communication in socio-cultural and psychological context.

In sum, all the language functions which have been discussed deal with communication. Hymes (1972) stresses the communicative aspect of language functions as well as Finch (1998) who sees communicating in the main role. Jakobson (1960) considers language functions to be main elements for communication, as well the interactional view is present in Halliday's (1975) definitions as one his seven functions of language. Brown and Yule (1983) and Kurhila (2006) underline the interactional function of language which is an important element of CEFR (2001) and EVK (2003) definitions, too. Tarone (1997) claims that the essential function of language is communication among and between people. She takes the sociolinguistic perspective and stresses communication. (Tarone 1997, 143.)

3.2.2 Descriptions of language functions

In this chapter, I discuss the descriptions of language functions which have been identified in children's talk. The descriptions of language were originally developed in mother tongue and not foreign language contexts. The descriptions, however, are applicable across languages and contexts.

Haslett (1983) examined the differences in functional communicative competence of pre-schoolers using Tough's (1977) hierarchical analysis of language functions, uses and strategies. Haslett identified interpretative, relational and projective language functions in children's conversations. The informative function which refers to verbally master information about the environment and the relational function which refers to express one's needs and ideas were the most important language functions in early years. Later the projective function which refers to enable imagining and creating new

roles and contexts became the most important language function in children's conversations. (Haslett 1983, 114–129.)

Kumpulainen and Wray's (2002) discussions of interactions are very detailed compared to other researchers when studying language functions. Kumpulainen and Wray (2002) have examined pupils' interaction in classrooms. They identified the following language functions in peer group interactions in mother tongue contexts across learning situations: informative, expositional, reasoning, evaluative, interrogative, responsive, organisational, judgemental (agrees/disagrees), argumentational, compositional, revision, dictation, reading aloud, repetition, experiential and affective functions. Each function in the framework is regarded as reflections of the social-cognitive-discursive actions of the participants as they verbally interact in their social activity. A single utterance may be identified as a case fulfilling more than one function. (Kumpulainen & Wray 2002, 37, 49.)

Kumpulainen and Wray (2002) studied the talk of children in teacher-centered and peer group-centered lessons. Table 2 describes the language functions from this perspective. It provides both a description and an example of pupils' talk in their mother tongue in addition to the language function.

Table 2. Language functions in the talk of children in teacher-centered and peer group-centered lessons according to Kumpulainen and Wray (2002, 48–52).

Language functions	Description	Example in pupils' language
Intentional	One asks permission to talk.	- Can I say something?
Responsive	One responds to a question or a statement.	- How many cats? - Two cats.
Reproductional	One reads aloud from a text or repeats what another person had recently said.	- And they went. - They went.
Interrogative	One makes a question.	- What is your name?
Expositional	One demonstrates a phenomenon or an experiment	- This is yellow.
Heuristic	One expresses having found something.	- I found that the floor was slippery.
Experiential	One expresses personal experiences.	- My father went fishing on Sunday.
Affective	One expresses personal feelings and emotions.	- I am afraid of dogs.
Informative	One provides information.	- Today the weather is fine.
Judgemental	One expresses agreement or disagreement.	- No, I don't like it.
Argumentational	One reasons and supports one's judgements.	- I don't play the piano, because I don't have time for that any more.

Hypothetical	One provides ideas or suggestions to be basis for further investigations.	- Let's put it in the water and see what happens.
Compositional	One creates or revises a written or spoken text.	- You should say: All the pupils were at school.
Organisational	One organises work or a learning process or controls behaviour.	- Be quiet.
External thinking	One thinks aloud.	- What was that again!
Imaginative	One introduces or expresses imaginative situations.	- I wonder what it would be like to live on the Moon.

Based on their research, Kumpulainen and Wray (2002) have developed the Functional Analysis of Children's Classroom Talk (FACCT) system to analyse pupils' talk. I will use the FACCT system to guide me to find and define the language functions more precisely. The FACCT system was developed in an English school for English speaking pupils. The FACCT system is described in Table 3.

Table 3. The functional analysis of Children's Classroom Talk (FACCT) System by Kumpulainen and Wray (2002, 136).

Language function	**Description**
Informative	Providing information
Interrogative	Asking questions
Organisational	Organising behaviour
Judgemental	Expressing agreement or disagreement
Affective	Expression of personal feelings
Compositional	Producing writing
Responsive	Answering questions
Reproductional	Reproducing spoken or written language
External thinking	Thinking aloud in accompaniment of task
Exposition	Oral language accompanying the demonstration of a phenomenon
Argumentational	Reasoning in oral language
Imaginative	Introducing or expressing imaginative situations
Experiential	Expressing personal experiences
Heuristic	Expressing discovery
Hypothetical	Putting forward a hypothesis
Intentional	Signalling intention to participate in discourse

The concept function of language is also used to cover language function. In this research, I will use the concept language function for both. I define language functions much in line with the FACCT system when analysing the

language functions in the present study. Most of the language functions and their descriptions in the FACCT are relevant to my research. The context of my study is an interview context and it is not in a classroom. It differs from Kumpulainen and Wray's research context that examined L1 English speakers in a classroom or peer interaction setting.

In Table 4 I present a summary of language functions, which have been identified by researchers. The titles may vary, but the meaning and content contain similar features.

Table 4. Language functions.

Language functions	Description	Researchers
Interactional	One makes contact.	Hymes (1972); Halliday (1975); Brown &Yule (1983); Kumpulainen & Wray[3] (2002)
Intentional	One asks permission to talk.	K&W (2002)
Responsive	One responds to a question or a statement.	K&W (2002)
Reproductional	One reads aloud from a text or repeats what another person had recently said.	K&W (2002)
Interrogative	One makes a question.	K&W (2002)
Expositional	One demonstrates a phenomenon or an experiment	K&W (2002)
Heuristic	One expresses having found something.	Halliday (1975); K&W (2002)
Experiential	One expresses personal experiences.	K&W (2002)
Affective	One expresses personal feelings and emotions.	Hymes (1972); Jakobson (1960); K&W (2002)
Informative	One provides information.	Jakobson (1960); Brown & Yule (1983); K&W (2002)
Judgemental	One expresses agreement or disagreement.	K&W (2002)
Argumentational	One reasons and supports one's judgements.	K&W (2002)
Hypothetical	One provides ideas or suggestions to be basis for further investigations.	K&W (2002)
Compositional	One creates or revises a written or spoken text.	Hymes (1972); Jakobson (1960); K&W (2002)
Organisational	One organises work or a learning process or controls behaviour.	Hymes (1972); Halliday (1975); K&W (2002)

[3] Later K&W

External thinking	One thinks aloud.	K&W (2002)
Imaginative	One introduces or expresses imaginative situations.	Halliday (1975)
Pleasure	One jokes.	
Phatic	One provides social context	Jakobson (1960)

In sum

The presented language functions are many and they are the basis for understanding meaning in interactions. However, an interview context frames the assumptions of relevant functions more strictly. The present research consists of pupils' communicative language use in interviews that is why I find Kumpulainen and Wray's definitions of language functions defined for children's language functions in classroom relevant to this study. The pupils' communicative language use is in connection with the work and practice in classroom. Other language functions presented do deal with communication but they do not take the children's perspective which Kumpulainen and Wray (2002) do take. The researchers discussed earlier refer to either communication or interaction when defining language functions. However, Kumpulainen and Wray (2002) go deeper than others in defining language functions in interactions.

CEFR's (2001) language policy stresses functional and multicultural language use. Earlier presented language functions describe the pracmatic language use contexts as it is seen through language functions and it shows the importance of language functions. Language use does not express itself aimless, but on the contrary in a multifaceted ways. There can be found language functions for beginners and for advanced language users. Communication strategies come along with language functions in language user's ability to perform language function appropriately in a social context. To be able to fulfil the language function one uses suitable communication strategies.

I would like to consider theories discussed in previous chapters complimentary, not excluding one another. The holistic approach both in overall learning (Puolimatka 2002) and in language teaching (Tella & Harjanne 2007) is, in my opinion, a relevant approach, which offers possibilities to combine, develop and even make a conceptual change in thinking of and testing theories in communicative language use.

4 Foreign language teaching

In this chapter, I discuss as well as theories behind communicative language teaching (CLT) and approaches immersion and CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) contexts. Theories that have led to communicative language teaching are important to discuss in this study because CLT has influenced the current foreign language teaching and learning in Finland, including CLIL. I would like to stress the interactional approach and communication in foreign language teaching.

4.1 Foreign language teaching and language use

Foreign language teaching involves language use, and aims to pupils' language use, both spoken and written. The central objective of foreign language teaching is to develop learner's communicative ability to use linguistic resources to perform functions in context. It is challenging to answer the questions does language use need foreign language teaching or does foreign language teaching need language use. Ellis (2008) claims that if the language is learned naturally without any form focus, a typical result is an interlanguage, which is low in grammatical complexity but communicatively effective (Ellis 2008, 233). Learning demands language using and teaching creates the opportunities to use language. The language proficiency is best gained from participating in communicative events (Hymes 1974). Iivonen and Tella (2009, 269–281) underline that good oral skills and listening comprehension skills in a foreign language allow for participation in more and more demanding social encounters and interaction. They recognize the importance of quality teaching to develop pupils' language use.

Language is a cultural and psychological tool and learning is seen as a problem solving process where meaning is created together in interaction. Interaction can be studied also by analysing to seek for the key issues and affordances that will become learning possibilities for the participants within the interaction. (Vehviläinen, Tainio & Penttinen 2008, 417–419.)

Swain's Output Hypothesis is influenced by socio-cultural ideas. Swain argues that the role of language is no longer seen from an information-processing angle, as conveying messages, but it is seen as a tool in cognitive activity in the learning of the L2. When pupils collaborate in speaking, they externalise thought and make it an object to be scrutinised, reflected on and disagreed on. At the same time, learners make meaning, and when they talk about language they become engaged in metatalk, which mediates second

language learning. These processes such as problem solving and meaning-making are those pupils benefit from using the L1. The L1 is used as a tool in learning an L2. (see Swain 2000; Swain and Lapkin 2002.)

Savignon (2002) also considers language as a tool, but Tella (1999) has a contrasting opinion regarding language as only a tool. Tella criticises the concept of seeing language only as a tool or a medium of instruction. He claims that the role of language itself becomes more important than just a tool. In his opinion, language becomes an empowering mediator between the teacher, the content matter and the culture represented by these two on the one hand and the community of learners and the learning tasks on the other. (Tella 1999, 26–31.)

Harjanne and Tella (2008) argue later that the view on foreign language has widened considerably over the last few decades from language as a tool or as an instrument to language as an empowering mediator. The role of mediator brings language even closer to communication and makes it an essential element of interaction.

Ellis (2003, 177–177) claims that one learns foreign language in an interaction rather than as a result of an interaction. However, Säljö (2001) sees language simultaneously as a collective, interactive and individual socio-cultural tool and therefore it can act as a mediator between culture, interaction and individual thinking. According to van Lier (2000), interaction also has an important role in learning; it does not only make learning easier but it is learning itself (van Lier 2000, 246).

Krashen (1985) argued that speaking is a result of acquisition, not its cause. Speech cannot be taught directly but it emerges through building comprehensible input. If input is understood, there is enough of it, the necessary grammar is provided as well. Krashen claims that there is a certain silent period before children start to use the foreign language while they build up their competence in language by listening. (Krashen 1985, 2.)

According to the interaction hypothesis (Long 1985), oral communication gets better by participating in oral interaction. Being part of an interaction is more effective than observing one in learning. One uses languages in interaction. Harjanne (2006) sees that a foreign language cannot be studied or practised as units detached from context, but it requires that the students elaborate and autonomously generate language in context-based and meaningful communication in social interaction.

Most researchers (e.g. Ellis 2008; Tarone 2007; Ringbom 2007; Savignon & Sysoyev 2002; Long 1997) recognise the importance of language and communication, though they approach the concept from different sides. For example, Tarone underlines the sociolinguistic component, while Long

(1997) argues that social context has no impact on the learner's cognitive process. The views are controversial.

However, the impact of language use on foreign language teaching is seen as a controversial and unresolved issue (Firth & Wagner 1997; Long 1997; Dalton-Buffer & Nikula 2006). The school context, for example the Content and Language Integrated Learning which provides foreign language content teaching through a foreign language, is not the only exposure for pupils to the foreign language but there are many other additional contexts apart from school as well, for example media, travelling, hobbies and home.

Communicative language use is different in different contexts. Springer and Collins (2008) found out that in the classroom language use is more focused on form than outside classroom where the focus is more on meaning. They studied language use in classrooms and in voluntary contexts. At times, the decision to focus on language came at the expense of task completion (see also Wray 2000, 481), and in the voluntary contexts, the same speakers shifted focus from the language itself to the content and completion of tasks.

Language use in a foreign language is demanding in many ways. Usually there is time pressure which limits the language use. Larzen (2005, 122) found out that it was easier to communicate with a foreigner when you had time to think about what to say and prepare it beforehand. Saville-Troike (1988) studied children's foreign language (English) development through video-recordings. The children engaged in extensive private speech and used a variety of intrapersonal learning strategies, including (i) repetition of others' utterances, (ii) recall and practice, (iii) creation of new linguistic forms, (iv) paradigmatic substitution and syntagmatic expansion and (v) rehearsal for overt social performance. She argues that the quantity and quality of private speech was related not only to the children's level of cognitive development and the difficulty of the learning task but also to the children's social orientation and learning style and to the domain of knowledge (language) that was being acquired. (Saville-Troike 1988.)

Recently, usage-based approaches to language are characterised by the claim that the linguistic representations of the grammar are closely linked to concrete usage of events. Ellis (2008) argues that usage-based theories have become increasingly influential in the study of language acquisition, centering on how children learn constructions while engaging in communication. When children engage in communication they also have a purpose or function of communication (Ellis 2008, 233).

Swain and Deters (2007) emphasise that foreign language learning is a highly complex activity in which human cognition and human agency develop and multiple identities are co-constructed through interaction with

others, the self and the cultural artefacts of our environment (Swain & Deters 2007, 831). Ellis (2003) claims that domains are constellations of factors that affect the way language is used. The domains of classroom and natural learning can be distinguished with reference to factors such as location, participants, topics and purposes (Ellis 2003, 1). Furthermore, Ellis (2008) speaks about language usage, and considers language usage and language learning dynamic processes in which regularities and systems arise from the interaction of people, selves, societies and cultures using languages in the world. Language usage involves consciousness, learning, dialogues, didactics and cultural forces motivate it, whether it occurs in natural or formal contexts. Socially guided consciousness is motivator for growth and change in all contexts and all cognitive domains. Learning effects usage. (Ellis 2008, 232–233.)

The term language use in the present study differs from Ellis's (2008) language usage which concerns domains in classroom and naturalistic learning. In this study, language use means that one is using language communicatively and mediating the meaning in interaction which contains both reception and production. Communicative language use contains two important elements: communication strategies and language functions. In this study, communicative language use is discussed in communicative context which is not barely language teaching context in classroom, nor naturalistic learning context. The focus is in communicative language use and the context is in slight connection with foreign language teaching.

4.2 Foreign language teaching theories and language learning

The purpose of this chapter is to examine a number of theories in foreign language teaching from a communicative and interactional point of view. I consider it important to discuss the basis of communicative language teaching (CLT) because it lays the foundation for the communicative language use of pupils overall. I will discuss some of the theories that have shown the way to the theoretical approach to the communicative foreign language teaching. Because in this research my focus is in communicative language use, my approach to the theories will be from the communicative point of view. There has been a variety of theories during the past decades regarding the holistic approach which is the main issue in language teaching theories at the moment. In the following, I will focus on some foreign language teaching theories which are essential for the present study from past to present. Communicative language teaching theories were born in the early 1970s. Language was not seen only as a system to learn, but the transition towards language as

communication element took place. Hymes (1972) was the one who first wrote about the communicative competence.

Ellis (2003) argues that communicative language teaching is an approach to teaching. It is directed at developing communicative abilities in the foreign language learners by teaching aspects of communicative competence and by providing conditions to learn through communicating (Ellis 2003, 340). The aim of communicative language teaching is language learning. The following hypotheses on language learning had influence on communicative language teaching and I want to underline them by describing the key ideas. *Krashen's Input Hypothesis* (Krashen 1985) on second language learning claimed that we learn by understanding messages or by obtaining comprehensible input. To be able to succeed in this the language learner has to be provided with the aid of extra linguistic context, knowledge of the world, and one's previous linguistic competence. Especially young language learners benefit, according to Krashen, from pictures and other realia which provide the context and background information to make input comprehensible. A learner acquires language when he or she receives comprehensible input in a low-anxiety situation, when the learner is presented with interesting messages, and when one understands the message. (Krashen 1985, 9.)

Krashen's *input hypothesis* suggests that learners' interlanguages develop as a result of comprehensible input that contains linguistic features one step beyond their current knowledge (Krashen 1985). *The topicalization hypothesis* states that learners are more likely to obtain intake when they initiate and control the topic; usually the teacher initiates and controls (Ellis 1994, 95). *Swain's Output Hypothesis* (Swain 1993) on second language learning claimed that the importance of output to learning of the second language could be that the output pushes learners to process language more deeply, with more mental effort, than does input. In speaking and writing, learners can stretch their interlanguage to meet communicative goals. (Swain 1993, 158–164.) *Activity Theory* (Wertsch 1979) claims that human behaviour results from the integration of socially and culturally constructed forms of mediation into human activity. Tools and signs mediate the human mental activity and the most important tool is language. *The interaction hypothesis* (Long 1985) brought out the significant role of interaction in language learning. According to the interaction hypothesis (Long 1985), oral communication gets better by participating in oral interaction. Being part of an interaction is more effective than observing one in learning. Long (1997) suggests that a way to make input comprehensible is to modify it through the negotiation of meaning. Input is made comprehensible as a result of modification of the interactional structure of conversations when communication problems

arise. The importance of interaction and conviction of language learning in social interactions has become significant in the 1990s (see Säljö 2000, 87–89; Lantolf 2000, 1; Van Lier 2000, 247). Also Swain argues that interaction is of great value for second language learning (Swain 2000, 99; 2001).

More recently, Donato (2000) introduced the *Participation metaphor* in which he considers interaction as a central factor in learning a foreign language and suggests that interaction relates to learning in quite a direct way (Donato 2000). *The natural approach* (Krashen & Terrell 1984, 58), which is an outgrowth of the Input Hypothesis, is based on the following proposals: (i) the goal is communicative skills, (ii) comprehension precedes production, (iii) production emerges when the learner is ready, (iv) acquisition activities are central and (v) the affective filter needs to be kept low. *Ecological Approach* (see Garner & Borg 2005) is used to describe phenomena in their context and to understand both context and the interactions that create the context. The main elements of an ecological view to language are the following: language is (i) holistic, (ii) dynamic and interactive and (iii) situated. (Garner and Borg 2005.)

A sociolinguistic approach to SLA[4] focuses, according to Tarone (2007), on the relationship between such social contextual variables as interlocutor, topic or task and the formal features of learner language or interlanguage (IL) production. An important aspect of sociolinguistic SLA work examines the interdependence between the social contexts in which IL is used and the cognitive processes of the learner that affect learner language variation and change, leading to acquisition. Tarone (2007) shows the relationship between social context and foreign language use. She argues that learners' foreign language input and processing of foreign language input in social settings are socially mediated; social and linguistic contexts affect foreign language linguistic use, choice and development; and learners intentionally assert social identities through their L2 in communicating in social contexts. Tarone claims that according to a sociolinguistic model, variation and change in specific elements of the learner's L2 linguistic knowledge are caused by (i) social contextual factors such as interlocutor, social setting, task, communicative purpose, learner intention, role and identity, (ii) linguistic contextual factors in the surrounding discourse and (iii) time, that is the time in the life of the learner when the L2 item or grammar was acquired relative to other linguistic items or grammars, and the demonstration that the rate or route of SLA can be altered over time by contextual factors favouring explicit and/or implicit processes of acquisition. (Tarone 2007, 845.)

[4] SLA=second language acquisition

The earlier described theories in language learning have influenced and led to a variety of theories, models and descriptions of language teaching which is seen even wider and more complex. At the moment the *holistic approach* is seen as a fundamental approach to language learning and teaching. In the holistic approach different concepts of learning are accepted complementary, not competing or excluding each other (Swain 2000, 103; Säljö 2001, 109).

Harjanne and Tella (2008) see current foreign language education as *socio-culturally oriented, communicative and transcultural.* They speak about strong signals in foreign language education and consider them higher prominent trends. According to Harjanne and Tella, the strong signals are (i) a holistic view on language exemplified through language as an empowering mediator, (ii) a holistic view of language proficiency, (iii) a holistic view of language learning focusing on interaction and participation, exemplified through scaffolding, collaborative dialogue and affordance, (iv) the holistic view on language teaching exemplified through task-based language teaching and (v) educational use of information and communication technologies. (Harjanne & Tella 2008, 56–57.)

Harjanne and Tella's (2009) discussion of language and teaching theory suggests that the function of language is expression of meaning. They highlight the importance of interaction and communication above all else. The importance of real communication and meaningful tasks are concepts of learning in which communication has a key role. Table 5 describes Harjanne and Tella's concepts of communicative language teaching.

Table 5. Features in communicative language teaching by Harjanne and Tella (2009) based on Harjanne (2006, 80).

CONSEPTS IN COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING	DESCRIPTIONS OF THE FEATURES
Theory of language	The function of language is the expression of meaning; above all interaction and communication
Theory of learning	Real communication, trial and error; meaningful tasks, meaningful language to the learner
Objectives	Functional and linguistic; the starting point: the student's needs, experiences and contents Meaningful authentic communication
Communication	A communicative goal, the connection with life outside the classroom

	Taking all the components of communicative language proficiency into consideration Integrated practising of listening, reading, speaking and writing Primary focus on meaning, secondary focus on form Interaction, negotiating of meaning, risk-taking
Student's role	Co-operative participator in communication
Teacher's role	Mentor, instructor, needs, analyst, task organizer, resource, feedback, researcher and learner
Role of material	Task-based, authentic, Supporting communicative language use

Harjanne and Tella (2009) emphasise the importance of real communication with meaningful tasks in theory of learning. The objectives should be both functional and linguistic in meaningful authentic communication. The goal is communicative, and the primary focus is on meaning including interaction, negotiation of meaning and risk-taking. Harjanne and Tella consider the role of material task-based, authentic and supporting communicative language use. (Harjanne & Tella 2009.)

I have discussed theories of language teaching, which touch upon the context of the communicative language teaching. I share similar thoughts about the concepts presented by Harjanne and Tella. The importance of communicative language use in foreign language teaching is essential in order to make pupils talk in various language use contexts in general and in real life encounters in particular, in other words to teach and to learn to use language.

4.3 Foreign language teaching approaches

There is a great variety of approaches to and models of teaching foreign languages. I will present two approaches for teaching through a foreign language in more detail. During last twenty years or so teaching through a foreign language has become popular in Europe and even globally. In this chapter, I will discuss two approaches in foreign language teaching through content: Immersion and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). I have chosen these two approaches to closer study because, according to my understanding, immersion, which I will discuss first and for which there are research results since 1960s, has had a considerable influence on the process that produced CLIL, on which I want to focus on even more.

Immersion is a form of language instruction where academic subjects are learned through the medium of a foreign language (Larsen-Freeman 2000, 141). Immersion is a type of foreign language teaching in which the regular

school curriculum is taught through the medium of a foreign language. The foreign language is the vehicle for the content instruction; it is not the subject of instruction (Richards & Rodgers 1986, 206). Pupils start the learning of a foreign language earlier in immersion than in the common school context.

Johnson and Swain (1997) have studied immersion and they have defined the core features of immersion programme, which are the following: (i) the L2 is a medium of instruction, which carries the communicative aspect to language teaching, (ii) the use of the L2 as a medium is a means to maximise the quantity of comprehensible input and purposeful use of the target language, (iii) the immersion curriculum parallels the local curriculum, (iv) the ways in which the content of instruction is covered can and should be different, (v) overt support exists for the L1 and often it is also used as a medium of instruction, (vi) the program aims for additive bilingualism, (vii) the level of L2 is high but not the native-speaker level, (viii) through the common underlying proficiency, cognitive and communicative processes and strategies can be operationalized in either the L1 or the L2, (ix) exposure to the L2 is largely confined to the classroom and the students have little or no exposure to the L2 outside the classroom, (x) students enter the program with similar (and limited) levels of L2 proficiency, (xi) the teachers are bilingual and they master both L1 and L2 and (xii) the classroom culture is that of the local L1 community. (Johnson & Swain1997, 1–16.)

Immersion research has a long tradition especially in Canada (see Swain 1988; 1993; Swain and Lapkin 2002) and the results have guided the immersion programmes as well as CLIL. Immersion research results have shown that the use of L2 as the medium of instruction has no negative effects on the academic achievements of immersion students. But the results of language production were not as promising. Lapkin & Swain (1984) came with the discovery of interlanguage which means that immersion pupils are quite capable of conveying meaning, but express themselves in ways that are different from those of native speakers. (Lapkin & Swain 1984.)

Cameron (2003) argues, that the balanced integration of content and L2 had not been reached. There is also evidence that production skills and grammatical knowledge do not benefit as much as expected (Cameron 2003, 106). An early starting age seems to produce long-term benefits when associated with greater time and massive exposure (Munoz 2008, 5).

However, the promising results in immersion in Canada may have been an example for the first immersion programme, which started in Finland (see Laurén 1994). In August 1987, the first Swedish immersion programme for Finnish speaking children began in kindergarten in Vaasa. Behind the start of the programme there were some politically active parents who took an inter-

est in developing an immersion programme in Finland based on the ideas of professor Laurén from University of Vaasa. Laurén stated that the emphasis was on obtaining practically functioning skills in foreign language. He underlined that interaction in the classroom provides the best results. Pupils have equal possibilities to learn in interaction according to Laurén. One aim of the programme was to raise pupils to become bilingual (Laurén 1994, 3–9).

Björklund (1994b) studied Swedish immersion pupils' oral and written skills from kindergarten to grade 4 when the pupils were 9–10 years old. She reported results in which the development of noun range and specification was greatly advanced by content teaching which gave the students the means of expressing themselves effectively and accurately in their L2. Pupils were also able to transfer the content knowledge from old to new contexts and to bring in nuances and synonyms to be able to give variations.

Niemelä (2008) claims in her study of the results of Swedish language immersion in Vaasa that instruction through themes develops the interaction skills of the immersion pupils and provides a good context for the development of language acquisition. Niemelä states that the interaction between the pupils and the teacher is active and multidimensional in theme-based instruction. Pupils are able to build multidimensional ways of interaction which supports the language acquisition. The content of different subjects are studied within a certain theme period. During the period, the focus is at first on language and later on the content. Pupils have to be in possession of the rules of interaction, language and the content of subject to be able to use and develop their language in multidimensional ways. (Niemelä 2008.)

Meriläinen (2008) has studied third grade immersion teaching during two theme-teaching periods. Her research report parses the main immersion principles to make them operate in a sensible way in Finnish immersion schools. The main goal of the research was to create a steady learning foundation in order to enable each child in immersion education to learn the basic content areas and important concepts in the best way suitable for each child. (Meriläinen 2008.)

In sum, the research in immersion is in line with having positive results both in interaction skills and language acquisition. The problem or the presence of interlanguage was identified, too.

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

CLIL stands for Content and Language Integrated Learning. Marsh (1994) defines it as follows: CLIL refers to situations where subjects, parts of subjects, are taught through a foreign language with dual-focused aims, namely the learning of content and the simultaneous learning of a foreign language

(Marsh 1994). According to Nikula (2007, 206), CLIL is a term which refers to different forms of content-based education. There are a couple of other definitions: (i) Content and language integrated learning (CLIL) is a generic term and refers to any educational situation in which an additional language and therefore not the most widely used language of the environment is used for the teaching and learning of subjects other than the language itself (Marsh and Langé 2000), (ii) CLIL is an educational approach in which languages and skills of communication are given a prominent role within a curriculum (Marsh et al. 2001) and (iii) CLIL is a multifaceted approach, which is implemented to reach specific outcomes, which enhance the learning of field-specific education alongside (Marsh et al. 2001). All the definitions underline the dual focus in teaching both language and content. These two concepts cannot be separated in CLIL though some of the definitions stress the language and some of them stress the content.

From the beginning of this millennium, there has been a large expansion of CLIL that is becoming common practice throughout several countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, South America and the Far East (Deller & Price 2007, 5). The Vaasa immersion program was an example of the first CLIL programme that started as a 2-year experiment in Finland. The first English language class, as it was called to underline the difference from immersion programme, started in August 1990 in Turku. In 1991 a change in Finnish education legislation enabled schools to use a language other than a pupil's native language as a language of instruction. As a result of this legislation change both the immersion programme and a variety of CLIL programmes spread rapidly all over Finland (see Lehti et al. 2006). At the moment there are functioning CLIL classes in several languages e.g. English, Swedish, German, French, Russian and even Chinese in Finland.

There are certain differences between immersion teaching and CLIL. In CLIL, learning to read and to write is carried out in a pupil's mother tongue, but in immersion teaching in a foreign language (Malmström 1993, 20–22). Immersion teachers are often bilingual and the used foreign language is their native language (Swain & Lapkin 1982, 5). CLIL teachers do not have to be bilingual, but they should have a good knowledge of the given foreign language. In immersion, pupils do not have any previous knowledge of a foreign language (Vesterbacka 1991, 64–65). In CLIL, pupils may or may not have some knowledge of the foreign language.

CLIL methodology

CLIL is a relatively new approach and it shelters a broad range of practice under its pedagogic roof (Ball 2008). CLIL is seen as the platform for a

methodological approach of far broader scope than language teaching. It seeks to develop proficiency both in a non-language subject and in the language in which it is taught. (Content and Language Integrated Learning at School in Europe 2005, 7.)

It is also seen as a form of language immersion in which academic subjects are learned through the medium of a foreign language (Larsen-Freeman 2000, 141). CLIL involves dual-focused aims; attention is simultaneously given to both topic and language. It is a generic term, which can be applied to some 20 or more educational approaches, although these differ in terminology (e.g. immersion, languages across the curriculum, bilingual education, foreign language instruction, language bath, language shower), they share certain common methodologies. (Marsh 2006.)

Does a CLIL methodology exist? There are contradictory concepts of the existence of a CLIL methodology. Some researchers define the methodology and others do not. Foreign language is often considered as a tool in CLIL context. Language is seen a tool to achieve content and it is a medium of instruction. This concept is criticised by Tella (1999) as he sees that foreign languages can be much more than just tools or means of instruction and argues that foreign languages can be used as tools, but that they also serve as intellectual partners, and that they help to construct and maintain new educational contexts. Language becomes an empowering mediator between the teacher, the content matter and the culture represented by these two on the one hand, and the community of the learners and the learning tasks on the other. (Tella 1999, 30.)

In CLIL, the subjects other than language are not taught in a foreign language but with and through a foreign language. This approach integrates teaching and learning, and teacher should not only teach different subjects through language, but also consider the educational process in general. (Content and Language Integrated Learning at School in Europe 2005, 7.) Niemelä (2008, 221) argues that the CLIL context creates opportunities to combine foreign language use with subject learning, hence providing a different perspective on what it means to know a foreign language. Llineares et al. (2012) claim that the ability to communicate one's personal experiences and attitudes in a foreign language is fundamental to achieving understanding of complex subject matter taught through the language. Their research in CLIL context has revealed that exposure to and practice of the foreign language in different classroom tasks and activities is likely to be transferable to other non-academic contexts (Llineares, Morton & Whittaker 2012).

CLIL methodology differs from a conventional foreign language teaching methodology. The importance of comprehensible input as well as compre-

hensible output (Swain 1985; 1993) is unquestionable. CLIL does not necessarily correlate with the maximum exposure hypothesis meaning the more you have the better you become (Marsh 2006). The focus is both on content and on form. Corrective feedback on linguistic aspects is essential (Doughty & Williams 1998, 247–248). There are also issues that need further development. Learner autonomy needs actions to be developed because it allows the students to transfer and apply certain language skills and learning strategies which leads to learners' independence when necessary in other than bilingual subject matter instruction lessons (Bach 2000). The lack of collaboration between teachers is a problem. Collaboration between teachers who are involved in CLIL and those who teach the target language is necessary. In successful examples of CLIL all the teachers, in spite of their subject, consider themselves to be responsible for language development (Marsh 2006).

In CLIL, there are elements from the task-based approach. It is contextualised. It has a context referring to the real life and to which learning can be combined. Completion is a priority. It is motivating, meaningful, active and co-operative and may even be fun. It can be modified to a suitable level for pupils and it approaches all learner styles. It has been suggested that it is easy for teachers to prepare and for pupils the tasks are to be solved. (Willis & Willis 2007.) I doubt that preparing CLIL lessons is easy for teachers; on the contrary, it may be laborious and time-consuming. Earlier, it was difficult to find suitable materials in a foreign language, and teachers had to prepare material themselves. Nowadays, the Internet provides abundant resource materials and it may be challenging to choose among endless options.

Content-based elements are essential in CLIL. Larsen-Freeman (2000) defines the principles in content-based approach in language teaching. According to her the subject matter content is used for language teaching purposes. Teaching should build on pupils' previous experience. When learners perceive the relevance of their language use, they are motivated to learn. They know that language use is a means to an end rather than an end in itself. The teacher's role is to scaffold the linguistic content, i.e. help learners say what it is they want to say by building a complete utterance together with the pupils. In this view language is learnt most effectively when it is used as a medium to convey informational content of interest to the pupils. Vocabulary is easier to acquire when there are contextual clues to help convey meaning, and when the pupils work with authentic subject matter, students and language support. For instance, the teacher may provide a number of examples, build in some redundancy, use comprehension checks, etc. Learners work with meaningful, cognitively demanding language and with content within the context of authentic material and tasks. (Larsen-Freeman 2000.)

It is important to analyse the language demands of a given lesson and support the learners in the areas of lexis, cognitive functions and study skills. At the lower levels the emphasis is more on the receptive than the productive skills. However, learners will also need to speak and write in the foreign language. Listening skills should be supported by comprehensible input. To be able to support understanding and learning several strategies in teaching are needed: (i) visual support, (ii) careful lesson planning in order to support language and learning needs, (iii) varying the activities to include whole class, small-group, pair and individual work, (iv) repetition and (v) consolidation. Code-switching to allow for the use of the mother tongue can also support learning particularly in the lower levels. (Deller & Price 2007, 9.)

Llineares et al. (2012) explored data collected in real CLIL classrooms (in Finland, Spain, Netherlands and Austria) from two interrelated perspectives: the CLIL classroom as an interactional context for developing language and content, and the genres and registers through which the meanings of the different academic subjects are enacted. The analysis of this corpus of data offered a rich description of how CLIL students' language works and may be expected to develop. The interaction between a teacher and students are recommended. According to Llinears et al. (2012), an overall socio-cultural perspective brings together a social-semiotic theory of language as meaning-making activity, a Vygotskian theory of learning in social interaction and second language acquisition or development. They underline the importance of its socially situated nature. (Llineares, Morton and Whittaker 2012.) Figure 2 represents how the three perspectives overlap.

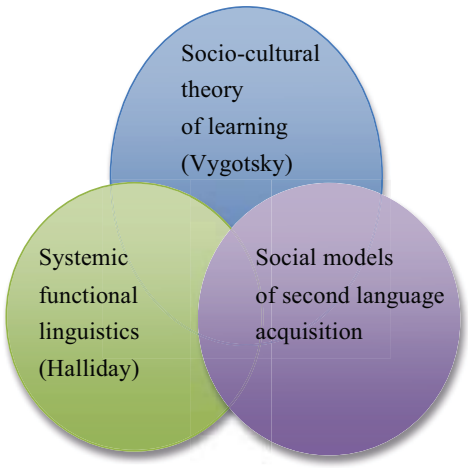

Figure 2. Three overlapping theoretical perspectives on CLIL according to Llineares et al. (2012, 13).

The illustration of the theoretical perspectives on CLIL according to Llineares et al. (2012) demonstrates functional approach to second language learning/acquisition in interaction in the socio-cultural contexts. The socio-cultural theory, models in language teaching, including CLIL, and communicative language use, including language functions, frame the theoretical framework of the present research, too.

In sum, it can be seen that the methodology for CLIL is still very open. Communicative language teaching (CLT) methodology has a lot to give to CLIL. There are features, which include in CLT and CLIL, for example stressing communicative tasks in teaching. There is need for methodology and as well as theory building in CLIL context. Dalton-Puffer, Nikula and Smit (2010) have attempted to link theory with practice reviewing evidence in support of different CLIL-specific pedagogies. Llineares et al. (2012) have taken theoretical based approach to the integration of language and content in CLIL context. They have adopted the framework of systematic functional linguistics that is to say how language functions in CLIL. Their contribution to the current CLIL research is a welcome conceptualisation to a wide practicitional CLIL context.

4.4 Foreign language teaching in basic education in Finland

Foreign language teaching has long traditions in Finland (see certain developmental trends in Finnish foreign language teaching in Tella 2004, 71–78; see also Harjanne & Tella 2007; Tella & Harjanne 2007; Harjanne & Tella 2009). The Finnish National Core Curriculum (POPS 2004) quides foreign language teaching and determines objectives, contents and assessment for teaching in basic education. POPS (2004) is the current core curriculum. In the following, I will discuss foreign language teaching objectives and content, which lay the basis for communicative language use. I consider it important to highlight also the process in communicative language teaching development that has led to the Content and Language Integrated Learning CLIL which is one of the approaches in foreign language teaching in Finland.

4.4.1 Curriculum in foreign language teaching in basic education

The Finnish National Core Curriculum (FNCC 2004; POPS 2004) for basic education is the national framework on the basis of which all teaching is conducted and the municipal curriculum is formulated. The National Core Curriculum defines the objectives of instruction foreign languages as follows:

> *Foreign language instruction must give the pupils capabilities for functioning in foreign-language communication situations. The tasks of the instruction are to ac-*

> *custom the pupils to using their language skills and educate them in understanding and valuing how people live in other cultures, too. The pupils also learn that a language, as a skill subject and means of communication, requires long term and diversified practise and communication as an academic subject, a foreign language is a cultural and skill subject.* (POPS 2004, 138.)

Communication and the ability to communicate are strongly stressed in the Finnish National Core Curriculum (POPS 2004; FNCC 2004). The aim is communicative competence which includes general competences, communicative language competences and communicative language activities and strategies. POPS (2004) demands that foreign language instruction must give the pupils capabilities of functioning in foreign language communication situations. The objectives of primary school foreign language teaching are diverse: both language competencies as well as the awareness of foreign languages and culture are promoted and developed from early grades onwards. Appropriately planned and implemented primary foreign language teaching forms a good basis for language studies for lifelong language learning (see Kantelinen & Pollari 2008). The pupils also learn that a language as a skill of subject and means of communication requires long-term and diversified practice through communication. Pupils begin to develop their intercultural competence by learning a foreign language and communicating through it.

If language teaching commences before the third grade, as it may start from the first class in the CLIL context, the focus at first is on the comprehension, repetition and application of what one has heard, and on practising oral communication (see Krashen 1985; Long 1985; Donato 2000). In grades 3–6 pupils become accustomed to communicating in the foreign language in very concrete, personally immediate situations, at first orally for the most part, then gradually increasing written communication. The curriculum also stresses that languages and cultures are different, but not different in value. (POPS 2004, 138–139.)

One has to be able to receive, understand, compose, create and mediate messages between language users. This is quite a task to perform for a young language learner. In this, however, as Brown (1994, 245) argues, certain communicative language teaching involves techniques could be used to engage them in pragmatic, authentic and functional use of language for meaningful purposes. Furthermore, Brown (2001) stresses the transactional and interactional character of discourse and the sociolinguistic appropriateness in teaching. He recommends encouraging pupils to develop and use their communication strategies.

Harjanne and Tella (2009) contend that two means to achieve communicative language proficiency are communicative language teaching (CLT) and task based language teaching (TBLT). In Harjanne's research (2006), her pupils of Swedish achieved good results in communicative tasks through CLT. Research results and features of CLT and TBLT are available in many contexts (e.g. Harjanne 2006; Donato 2000; van Lier 2000; Brown 2001; Ellis 2003).

4.4.2 Teaching through a foreign language

Foreign language and language immersion instruction are the terms used in the Finnish National Core Curriculum (POPS 2004, FNCC 2004) for teaching which is given through a foreign language. According to the Finnish National Core Curriculum (POPS 2004) teaching given in the school's language of instruction and teaching given in a foreign language form an integrated whole. The objectives and contents of different subjects are the same as in the teaching of the school's language. The concept of foreign language teaching and language-immersion teaching in this chapter refers to teaching which is given in a foreign language in other than language subjects. Mård-Miettinen (2006) argues that together with the international immersion research results and good immersion practices the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages is a useful tool when designing objectives for the immersion programmes in Finland (Mård-Miettinen 2006, 74). In this study I use the term teaching through a foreign language (TTFL) for Immersion teaching and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), which are the main approaches for teaching through a foreign language in Finland (see Tella 1999, 26–31).

The objectives of teaching through a foreign language are adapted to the extent of the foreign language instruction or the language immersion. The objectives specify what sort of level is sought in listening and reading comprehension skills, speaking, writing and cultural skills. The pupil is to achieve sufficient language proficiency in the school's language of instruction and in the foreign language-immersion language so that the objectives of the different subjects can be attained. The curriculum specifies what subjects and how much of their instruction are to be taught in the foreign language or the language immersion-language. (POPS 2004, 270.)

Core contents

Education providers specify the contents corresponding to objectives. POPS (2004) defines the core aspects of (i) foreign language or language-

immersion language (ii) mother tongue (Finnish, Swedish or Sami) and literature, (iii) interactional skills, (iv) reading and writing, (v) text comprehension, (vi) knowledge of language, literature and other culture, (vii) information acquisition skills and (viii) preparing compositions and oral presentations.

In the present study, the focus is on communicative language use which requires interactional skills and content to communicate about. Thus, I will present the core aspects of interactional skills and of oral presentations to be more precise. Still all the mentioned core aspects are important to build up pupil's interactional skills. POPS (2004) describes the interactional skills core contents in basic education grades 1–9, as follows:

(i) narrating and explaining, presenting and defending one's opinion, doing business, formulating questions, taking a turn in a conversation, practising courtesy and listening
(ii) timing and dimensioning one's turn to speak, choosing the form of language, procedure in conflict situations and benefiting from different opinions, giving and receiving feedback
(iii) processing what one has heard, seen, experienced and read, with aid of improvisation, narration, play and drama.

The core contents of oral presentation are (i) explaining and depicting a familiar thing; narration with plot, assembly of information acquired; expressing and justifying an opinion (ii) systematic enrichment of vocabulary; diversification of techniques of expression (iii) production of fiction that creates new worlds and depicts pupil's own experiences and viewpoints. (POPS 2004, 270–273.)

All of these form essential units to build up pupils' foreign language use. One has to have enough content to be able to talk about and enough skills to talk about content. Mersuo-Storm (2006) argues that it is obvious that by employing relevant methods of work it is possible to support the twin goal of CLIL instruction, i.e. to facilitate the learning of both content and language at the same time. The Finnish school curricula are based on the socio-constructivist notion of learning and teaching, which means that tasks that involve social interaction are in congruence with objectives and requirements arising from various sources. (Merisuo-Storm 2006, 156.)

The Finnish National Core Curriculum (2004) guides also the assessment of teaching through a foreign language. Assessment has to give the teacher, pupil and parents or guardians adequate information about pupil's language proficiency. Growth in the comprehension of a foreign or immersion language is to be monitored. The Finnish National Core Curriculum requires that

the development of skills in mother tongue has to be monitored closely throughout the course of basic education. The development of mother tongue may at first be delayed if the pupil learns to read in the foreign or immersion language. (POPS 2004, 273.)

Ellis (1994) argues that even the most diligent L2 learner usually achieves proficiency considerably below what a child mother tongue acquirer achieves. Today language teaching does not aim to reach the native-likeness in proficiency but functional language ability is more important. Assessment of teaching through a foreign language has always been a part of foreign language teaching through in Finland (see Mustaparta & Tella 1999). In research reports pupils' coping in immersion and CLIL has been compared with pupils in formal language teaching context. There has been research particularly on pupil's mother tongue development in teaching through a foreign language. (see Rahman 2002a; Lehtinen 2002; Merisuo-Storm 2002).

There is a great variety of approaches and models to teaching foreign languages. I will present in more detail two approaches used in Finland to teaching through a foreign language. The approaches are Immersion and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). My aim is to describe the context in which pupils start foreign language study earlier than in a typical basic education teaching in which foreign language study starts in the third grade.

In 1991, a change in Finnish education legislation enabled schools to use a language other than a pupil's native language as a language of instruction. As a result of this legislation change both the immersion program and a variety of CLIL programs spread rapidly all over Finland (see Lehti et al. 2006). Increased interest in internationalism fostered a more critical view of current language programs, which were unable to make pupils successfully communicate in a foreign language. There was an increasing demand for communicative pragmatic second language teaching. Experimental bilingual programs were created in schools, but they were not effective enough because of the use of pupils' L2 as medium of instruction was restricted to special language lessons, 2–3 hours a week. (Björklund 1994a.)

I have chosen these two approaches to closer study because according to my understanding immersion, which I will discuss first and for which there are research results since 1960s, has had a considerable influence on the process that produced CLIL, which is the approach that I want to focus on even more detailed.

Immersion

The promising results in immersion in Canada may have been an example for the first immersion program, which started in Finland (see Laurén 1994, 3–

9). In August 1987, the first Swedish immersion program for Finnish speaking pupils began in kindergarten in Vaasa. Behind the start of the program there were some politically active parents who took an interest in developing an immersion program in Finland based on the ideas of professor Laurén from University of Vaasa. Laurén stated that the emphasis was on obtaining practically functioning skills in foreign language. He underlined that interaction in the classroom provides the best results. Pupils have equal possibilities to learn in interaction according to Laurén. One aim of the program was to raise pupils to become bilingual (Laurén 1994). Immersion programs have spread from Vaasa to main cities and are conducted with different features.

Björklund (1994b) studied Swedish immersion pupils' oral and written skills from kindergarten to grade 4, when the pupils were 9–10 years old. She reported results in which the development of noun range and specification was greatly advanced by content teaching, which gave the students the means of expressing themselves effectively and accurately in their L2. Pupils were also able to transfer the content knowledge from old to new contexts and to bring in nuances and synonyms to be able to give variations.

Niemelä (2008) claims in her study of the results of Swedish language immersion in Vaasa that instruction through themes develops the interaction skills of the immersion pupils and provides a good context for the development of language acquisition. Niemelä states that the interaction between the pupils and the teacher is active and multidimensional in theme-based instruction. Pupils are able to build multidimensional ways of interaction, which support the language acquisition. The immersion pupils' interaction has great resemblance to the interaction, which pupils have in usual mother tongue school context. Content of different subjects are studied within a certain theme period. During the period, the focus is at first on language and later on the content. Pupils have to be in possession of the rules of interaction, language and the content of subject to be able to use and develop their language in multidimensional ways. (Niemelä 2008.)

Meriläinen (2008) has studied third grade immersion teaching during two theme-teaching periods in Kokkola. Her research report parses the main immersion principles to make them operate in a sensible way in Finnish immersion schools. The main goal of the research was to create a steady learning foundation in order to enable each child in immersion education to learn the basic content areas and important concepts in the best way suitable for each child. (Meriläinen 2008.)

In sum, the research in immersion is in line with having positive results both in interaction skills and language acquisition. The problem or the presence of interlanguage was identified, too.

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

From the beginning of this millennium, there has been a large expansion of CLIL, which is becoming common practise throughout several countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, South America and the Far East (Deller & Price 2007, 5). The Vaasa immersion program was an example for the first CLIL program, which started as a 2-year experiment in Finland. The first English language class, as it was called to underline the difference from immersion program, started in August 1990 in Turku. In 1991 a change in Finnish education legislation enabled schools to use a language other than a pupil's native language as a language of instruction. As a result of this legislation change both the immersion program and a variety of CLIL programs spread rapidly all over Finland. At the moment there are functioning CLIL classes in several languages e.g. English, Swedish, German, French, Russian and even Chinese in Finland.

There are certain differences between immersion teaching and CLIL. In CLIL learning to read and to write is carried out in a pupil's mother tongue, but in immersion teaching in a foreign language (Malmström 1993, 20–22). Immersion teachers are often bilingual and the used foreign language is their native language (Swain & Lapkin 1982, 5). CLIL teachers have not to be bilingual, but they should have a good knowledge of foreign language. In immersion pupils do not have any previous knowledge of a foreign language (Vesterbacka 1991, 64–65). In CLIL pupils may or may not have some knowledge of the foreign language.

Objective of CLIL in Finland

The objective in CLIL is to ensure that pupils acquire knowledge of subject matter and at the same time develop their competence in a foreign language. In Finnish context the specific objectives related to CLIL are: (i) providing pupils facilities for life in an internationalized society; (ii) enabling pupils to develop effective foreign language communication skills and motivating them to learn languages by using them for genuine practical purposes; (iii) enabling pupils to extend subject related knowledge and learning skills and enhancing the assimilation of subject matter by use of a different and innovative approach (Content and Language Integrated learning at School in Europe 2005, 22.)

The Finnish National Core Curriculum (POPS 2004; FNCC 2004) does not include the CLIL vocabulary, but uses the concepts *instruction in foreign language* and *language-immersion*. POPS brought instruction in a foreign language and language-immersion in focus for the first time in 2004, although the teaching through a foreign language, as well as CLIL, had already

been in action in Finnish schools. There has been teaching through a foreign language in Jyväskylä since the 1970s, immersion teaching in Vaasa from 1987 and CLIL classes in Turku since 1990.

Officially all these foreign language teaching approaches, models, techniques and methods are mentioned in Finnish core curriculum as follows: In instruction in different subjects, it is also possible to use a language other than the schools language of instruction, in which case the language is also an instrument for learning the contents of different subjects, as opposed to being simply the object of the instruction and learning…the objectives and contents of different subjects are the same as in instruction in Finnish…The education provider decides on the designation. (POPS 2004, 270.)

POPS (2004) does not give clear guidelines on how to organize teaching in immersion, nor in CLIL context. The responsibility is given to school administratiors, principals and teachers. Objectives in foreign language or language-immersion language are adapted as to the extent of the foreign language instruction (POPS 2004, 270).

Research results in CLIL in Finland

Some research results are published regarding CLIL in Finland although the history of CLIL in Finland is quite young (see Malmsröm 1993). Research in CLIL has mainly focused on matters of language learning or content mastery rather than interaction in the classroom (Nikula 2007, 223). In the following, I will discuss some of the results.

Järvinen (1999) was one of the first researchers to study the acquisition of English as a medium of instruction in Content and Language Integrated Learning in Finland. Järvinen looked at how the implicit acquisition of the second language takes place in CLIL and whether the acquisition of a second language in CLIL is different from the learning of a foreign language in formal language classrooms. Järvinen´s data was collected in the Turku teacher training school. The experimental subjects in her cross-sectional study were Finnish native speaker students (N=90) enrolled in CLIL classes in grades 1–5 (7–12 year olds). The control group was mainstream EFL students from the parallel grades 3–5 (9–12 year olds).

The results indicated both quantitative and qualitative differences between the two groups. The experimental CLIL group's development in the second language was faster and more versatile than the control group's development in English. Järvinen claims that the development of the implicit competence of the second language is not a gradual one as it seems to be in formal language learning, but instead it may contain phases of maturation after which simultaneous emergence of a number of developmental features occur. There

are also significant differences in the rate of acquisition between the CLIL pupils and controls. The results of the elicited imitations reveal that the CLIL pupils not only produce significantly longer sentences than the control groups but also significantly more complex ones.

Jäppinen (2005) has studied thinking skills and learning of content in foreign language instruction. She examined how foreign language instruction affects in the development of cognitive skills of Finnish pupils in basic education. The research results indicate that foreign language instruction supports the cognitive development of the pupils.

Nikula (2003) argues that pupils in foreign language instruction use language in more pragmatically varied functions compared with pupils in formative language instruction context. The foreign language instruction offers possibilities to practice different roles in interaction which explains the better results. According to Nikula, the large exposure to English is not the main factor but the possibility of interaction.

Nikula (2007) has extended her studies in pupils' classroom interaction in CLIL. Nikula investigated how English is used in biology and physics CLIL classrooms in Finland. The research focus was in social and interpersonal aspects of language use as it unfolds in authentic settings. Nikula found that CLIL students claim ownership of English by the way they confidently use it as a source for the construction of classroom activities. Students ascribe to an identity as users rather than learners of English. (Nikula 2007, 220–221.)

Furthermore, Nikula (2008) has also studied teachers' language use in CLIL, exploring the effects that teaching in a foreign language has on a teacher's language use in social interactions. The findings suggest that the teacher's instruction in CLIL classroom is more dialogic and allows more student participation, whereas teacher monologues are common when the instruction takes place in Finnish.

Finnish, Spanish, Austrian and Dutch CLIL pupils' interaction in classroom has been studied. The study is based on the corpus of 500 000 words of secondary CLIL classroom recorded interaction. Llineares and al. (2012) present different CLIL practices in various contexts in mentioned countries. The examples they use show learners' production of language from a fairly wide range of stages of development, and often the extracts show how learners struggle to make meaning with limited resources.

Järvinen (2006) has discussed promoting language and learning in CLIL. The results underline three components: language, content and strategies. She suggests that teaching should be based on the general and particular thinking skills and their linguistic expressions. The recommendations resulting from her discussion can be summed up as follows. The teacher's role is unques-

tionable. Järvinen's recommend that teachers shoud provide plenty of input interspersed with focus on form; provide brief interventions of form-focused teaching; provide negotiation of form tasks (in addition to negotiation of meaning); allow mother tongue use to support meaning-making and problem-solving; provide peer-peer scaffolding activities; provide opportunities for extended output and challenging interaction; provide tasks for processing and producing challenging oral output; ask 'quality' questions with unexpected outcome that cannot be answered in one or two words; provide examples of the linguistic expressions of content-related thinking skills, and practise the linguistic expression of content-related thinking.

Seikkula-Leino (2002) has examined learning and more precisely motivation, self-esteem and achievement in foreign language instruction. She claims that the number of low achievers in CLIL classrooms is limited, and furthermore that all students benefit from studying in CLIL classes. This is to say that the weak performes develop as well as the good ones. I understand this in a way that CLIL context is not only for successful pupils, but also to those who have difficulties in learning.

Pihko's (2008) study investigates the phenomenon of foreign language anxiety in two different language learning environments in the Finnish comprehensive school: (i) in traditional English as a foreign language classes and (ii) in English-medium content and language integrated learning (CLIL) classes. The results indicate that language anxiety continues to be a problem for a large number of students in both groups mentioned earlier. However, CLIL students suffer less from foreign language anxiety in classroom learning situations than their peers in traditional English language classes. CLIL students were more willing to use English in classroom communication, and they felt less tense when they spoke English in class. (Pihko 2008, 129–137.)

From the very beginning of the CLIL experiences the Finnish authorities were concerned about the mother tongue performance and the learning in other school subjects. Rahman (2002a) compared the writing skills of compound words in Finnish between CLIL pupils and the control group. The results indicated that there was not a significant difference between the groups. Merisuo-Storm (2002) states in her study results that bilingual education has not had a negative effect on the pupils' development of reading and writing skills in Finnish during the first two school years; it has improved pupils auditive skills and memory which are important factors for literacy development. Lehtinen (2002) explored how Finnish as a second language of immigrant children develops during grade 1 in CLIL class, and how the bilingualism of these children emerge. Lehtinen argues that the immigrant children strongly developed their skills in all aspects of language during their

first school year. She also noticed that the children who did not have the possibility to attend their mother tongue lessons were weaker in their performance in Finnish.

Järvinen (1999) does not mention if there were pupils with immigrant background in the data. At the time of Järvinen's data collection in 1990s Turku teacher training school was becoming a multicultural school with growing number of immigrants, 150 pupils by the end of 1990s. Being so the results should be viewed also in that perspective: English might not be the second language of the pupils, but the third or even fourth, and what effect would that have on the results of both the examined group and the control group. Also the question of English language acquisition in CLIL needs more specific argumentation. It raises the question: Where do the pupils really learn their English? In CLIL classes or elsewhere?

Recently, Markkanen (2012) has conducted an action research by teaching content in formal English lessons. She taught English to the research group and the control group two hours per week. CLIL-teaching was carried out in the research group approximately once a week in 15 to 20 minute sessions. The data consisted of the assessments of pupils' content and language skills, a self-evaluation and attitude questionnaires and the researcher's classroom observations and learning experiences with the pupils. Markkanen claims that CLIL had a positive impact on pupils´ learning and attitude towards learning. Pupils also communicated more eagerly in English than before and concentrated in content rather than the language itself.

In summary, the research results regarding the Finnish CLIL context tend to be positive in foreign language use (Jäppinen 2005; Järvinen 2006; Nikula 2003 and 2007; Rahman 2010; Markkanen 2012). CLIL pupils learn both language and content, also weak pupils learn (see Seikkula-Leino 2002), and language anquisity is low (Pihko 2008). There may be phases when pupils do not seem to learn the language and sometimes pupils' mother tongue does not develop as well as comparisons (see also Merisuo-Storm 2002). The importance of pupil's mother tongue instruction is undeniable (Lehtinen 2002). In a multilingual school context, it is challenging because the number of different mother tongues may be large. In the next chapter, I will discuss the multilingual school context, which forms the communicative language use environment for pupils ever more.

5 Multilingual and multicultural language use environment

In this chapter, I will discuss the multilingual and multicultural language use environments which many pupils encounter at school today. Finnish schools are gradually changing into multilingual and multicultural language use environments.

In a multilingual language use environment, the concepts multilingualism and plurilingualism are often mixed. Plurilingualism differs from multilingualism which is the knowledge of a number of languages and the co-existence of different languages in a given society. The plurilingual approach emphasises the fact that as an individual person's experience of languages in its cultural context expands. (CEFR 2001; EVK 2003.) In a multilingual language use environment language users may or may not be plurilingual. The multilingual and multicultural language use environment in the present study refers to language use environment with several different languages used by people with different cultural backgrounds.

Multilingual schools are becoming reality in Southern and the South-Eastern parts of Finland (see Virta 2008). The change from a mono cultural school into a multicultural school dates from the 1970s. There was a rapid increase in immigrant pupils in the 1990s and onwards, and Finland has become increasingly multicultural since then. As a result of immigration into Finland since 1980s, there have been an increasing number of different languages at school in addition to Finnish, Swedish and Sami which are the official languages in Finland. The school, where this study was conducted and the pupils of the data were taught became a multilingual and multicultural school in 1990s. In autumn 2001, when the pupils in this research started their school, the number of pupils with multicultural background was 185. By the time they ended the elementary years in 2006, there were 388 pupils with multicultural background. The increase in different cultures and languages has been rapid at the school during the data collection period. The increase of plurilingual and multicultural pupils has taken place since early 1970s and continues still.

The development of education for immigrants has gone a long way from the assimilationist notions of foreign policy in 1960s and 1970s to the multicultural education in 1980s and beyond. Societies are becoming multiculturally diverse around the world whether they like it or not. Education systems in societies are among the first to face the growing number of immigrant pupils and students. Schools have to find ways to co-operate with multicultural minorities. In some cases there have been created new ways of multicul-

tural education or no innovative solutions have been found. For example, there has been a massive immigration to Germany for centuries but Germany has been reluctant to adapt its educational system to the growing number of ethnic minority students (Faas 2008, 108). In Finland, on the contrary, there has been a constant process to find ways to cope with increasing numbers of multicultural pupils and enhance positive and rewarding solutions for both the Finnish society and newcomers and their siblings. One of the programmes has been mother tongue teaching for pupils with multicultural background. Also teaching through a foreign language (e.g. CLIL) enables and supports interaction in foreign language communication by creating a language use environment which is more equal for the interlocutors. The National Core Curriculum in foreign languages (NCC 2004; POPS 2004) stresses the importance of interaction between individuals, not only using one's mother tongue but also using a foreign language.

Multilingual school undoubtedly has an influence on pupils' language use and communicative competence. Savignon and Sysoyev (2002) stress the socio-cultural strategies for dialogue of cultures. That is to say that learners need strategies for coping in certain social and cultural situations. Savignon and Sysoyev (2002) consider the lack of learner opportunity for beyond-the-classroom interaction to be a problem in school foreign language programs. They claim that this lack leads to psychological, linguistic and socio-cultural obstacles in second language communication. Dörnyei (1995) claim that the socio-cultural competence should be promoted and he sees that the importance of direct or explicit teaching of strategies is fruitful and beneficial for the learners. If socio-cultural competence is seen to be an integral part of L2 communicative competence, Savignon and Sysoyev argue that explicit teaching of socio-cultural strategies will promote development of a L2 socio-cultural competence and help prepare learners for subsequent active and adequate participation in multicultural communication and dialogue of cultures (Savignon and Sysoyev 2002).

Tarone (2007, 837) claims that a model of the sociolinguistic processes that inform L2 acquisition is supported by empirical evidence on the relationship between social context and L2 use and acquisition which shows that learners' L2 input and processing of L2 input in social settings are socially mediated. Tarone (2007) considers that both social and linguistic context affect linguistic use, choice and development, and that learners intentionally assert social identities through their L2 in communicating in social contexts. Sociolinguistics concentrate in the study of the impact of society, including the impact of social context on the way language is used.

Controversial opinions exist, too. Long (1997) does not recognise the importance of the social setting. He argues that social context has no impact on the learner's cognitive processes, and therefore issues of social context have nothing to do with the SLA theory.

Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) do not see the communicative competence as important as researchers and teachers have traditionally considered. They argue that successful communication comes less from knowing which communication strategy to use at which point of interaction than it does from choosing which speech style to speak with whom, about what and for what effect. They claim that the notion of symbolic competence is a way of conceiving of both communicative and intercultural competence in multilingual settings. The language user has to learn to see oneself through one's own history and subjectivity and through the history and subjectivity of others. (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008, 2 and 24.)

Kramsch and Whiteside's (2008) discussion on important concepts concerning multilingual setting and language use are essential concepts in the present study. Their opinions differ radically from earlier research results regarding communicative competence and communication strategies. They claim that symbolic competence, in other words one's own subjective view and experience of life together with others enable the communication in multilingual settings. Their arguments raise questions about how language users enhance the history and subjectivity of others, and how one can find and recognise one's own. I see that Kramsch and Whiteside's arguments are not adequate when dealing with children, because children are not old enough and capable enough to symbolic competence.

Learning takes place through social, historical and cultural acts (van Lier 2000, 254). Laaksonen (2007, 55) discusses the process of schools becoming multicultural in Finland, and the pupils in that process are in focus of her study. The pupil's personal lifespan reflects in his or hers actual behaviour, intercultural competence and communication. Virta (2008) has studied the attitudes to history studying of the pupils with ethnic and cultural diversity. In her opinion due to the relatedness of historical memory and collective identity history instruction has not a tendency to reflect history of the cultural diversity. Sometimes pupils would not like to touch certain topics of their ethnic history at all at school lessons. All their experiences or their parents' experiences from the past have an unknown influence on their intercultural competence and communication as well. (Virta 2008, 256–257.) In addition to Virta's research, multicultural school context and multicultural pupils have recently been under research in Finland (for example Vänttinen 2009;

Soilamo 2009; Laaksonen 2007; Koskensalo 2007; Soininen 2006; Merisuo-Storm 2006; Kauppila 2006; Niemi 2006).

Lately, the importance of pupils' mother tongue teaching has been recognised. To support teaching both in mother tongue and L2 in multicultural language use environment schools have been able to answer to the growing demand of mother tongue teaching. Research results have constantly revealed that the teaching of one's mother tongue leads to positive influence in learning foreign languages (Krashen 1985; Lehtinen 2002). Teaching in the child's mother tongue can be of great value to the learning of the L2. Early teaching in the mother tongue can provide cognitive academic language proficiency, the ability to use language to learn and discuss abstractions. It seems to be very important especially in multicultural context. Spolsky (1989) has stressed the importance of mother tongue teaching in multicultural settings, too.

The use of pupil's mother tongue is acknowledged in foreign language learning contexts, too. For example, Swain (2000) and Järvinen (2006) recommend providing pupils the possibilities to use their mother tongue when faceing problems in foreign language use. If the language user is not capable to cope in a foreign language due to lack of vocabulary, a temporary code-switching by using mother tongue to compensate is useful (Nikula 2005, 42; Berglund 2008, 208–268).

In this study, I use the concept plurilingual pupil referring to pupils who are able to use several languages in communication. Immigrant pupils are often plurilingual. The Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (POPS 2004, 34) defines immigrant pupils as children and young people who have moved to or been born in Finland, and have immigrant backgrounds. POPS (2004) grants the immigrant pupils instruction, which must support the pupils growth into active and balanced membership of both the Finnish linguistic and cultural community and the pupils' own linguistic and cultural community. POPS (2004) stresses a number of values, including multiculturalism. The underlying values of basic education are human rights, equality, democracy, natural diversity, preservation of environmental variability and the endorsement of multiculturalism.

According to POPS (2004, 303), instruction in the native languages, that is to say their mother tongue, of immigrants is important to support the development of pupils' thinking and language skills, self-expression and communication, the formation of their social relationship and conception of the world. Multilingual immigrant pupils fill the classrooms, however pupils' abilities to speak their languages vary a lot. Many of them may not be able to speak their mother tongue. Parents' interlanguage both in Finnish and in

English challenges children's language development in Finnish and in English.

Research (see Halonen 2007) has shown that multicultural pupils are strong in communicative oral proficiency. Multicultural pupils do not achieve the same level as Finns in other fields in language competence, but 20 percent less. Results in listening comprehension are different from all the other areas of language competence. It is interesting because Finns' level drops and multicultural pupils' level almost reaches the Finns' level.

Turku teacher training school, where the present study was conducted, is a multilingual school with more than 40 different mother tongues spoken by its pupils. The fact creates a multicultural setting for puplis' communicative language use, which takes place in Finnish, in pupil's mother tongue or in a foreign langue (e.g. in English in CLIL). The recent development in society has led to the situation that there are two or more different languages used in a classroom. Immigration has brought different languages and cultures into classrooms. According to Llineares, Morton, and Whittaker (2012) it is important that bilingual programmes such as CLIL are inclusive, and that they do no harm to the educational chances of learners who do not speak either of the languages of instruction at home for example Finnish and English or Finnish and French. The Finnish CLIL context does not exclude pupils with immigrant background. They are given equal access to the programs as native Finnish children. Some CLIL programs test the pupils' Finnish skills in enrolment and if children with immigrant background pass the enrolment tests they are accepted to the program and given support Finnish lessons if needed.

In sum, multilingual societies are becoming more and more a rule than an exception in the world. In today's world people move from one country to another, get married and have children, who learn to talk, and thir parents send them to a local school. Instead of one language, many different languages are spoken even in one family. Globalisation creates new multilingual environments where people, languages and cultures meet. As a result of globalisation many cultures and languages live in a society interacting with each other. Savignon and Sysoyev (2002) argue that efforts to identify similarities and differences between cultures have served to raise more questions than answers. Do people have a certain culture to use language similarly inside them? I agree as Savignon and Sysoyev (2002) claim that each individual is unique and may not conform to a general form. When studying pupils in a multicultural and multilingual language use environment, one has to be sensitive not to approach pupils and their communicative language use with strong cultural expectations about the pupils as well as for oneself.

I have built the theoretical framework for the present study through three different aspects which are communication, foreign language teaching and multilingual language use environment. I consider all these three elements important when focusing on Finnish pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews in the present study. The first two aspects are obvious in the communicative foreign language use context: communicative language use of English takes place in interviews which is communication, and the communicative language use of English is a result of foreign language teaching to some extend. In addition to communication and foreign language teaching, multilingual language use environment is discussed which I find important because it represented itself strongly in the data and it was the everyday language use environment for the pupils in the data. Figure 3 demonstrates how linguistic, sociolinguistic and school factors combine in different ways in multilingual contexts. The school context, the teacher, the language of instruction and the school subject frame the context of the multilingual language use environment at school. In the sociolinquistic context micro and macro contexts interact and have together affect on the school context. The linguistic distance of the used languages influences the languages used at school i.e. in transfer.

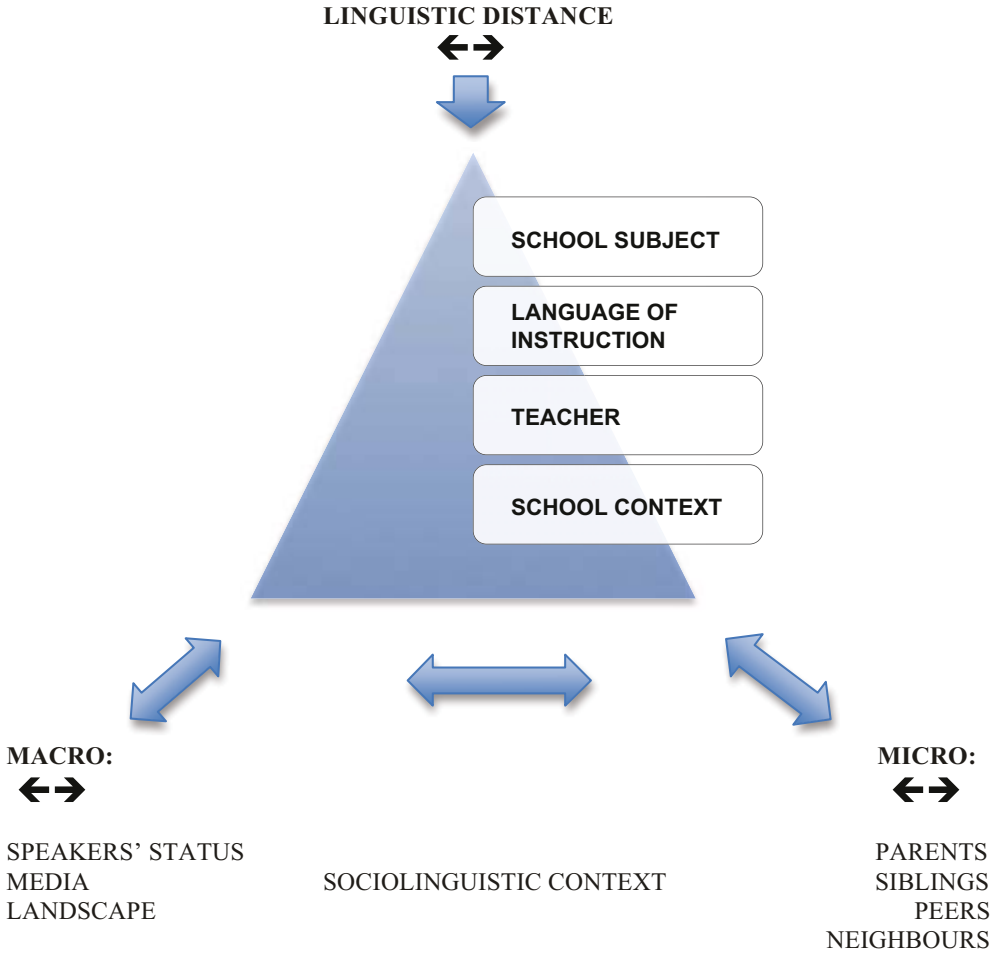

Figure 3. The context of multilingual language use environment (based on Cenoz 2009).

In the following, I will quote a pupil's essay to excemplify the Figure 3. The pupils of the data wrote an essay about the languages they use in grade 6, and I had the possibility to read the essays and use them for the research. The essays contained interesting facts about the languages the pupils were able to use. The following essay illustrates the ways in which plurilingual students learn to negotiate a multilingual context.

> *"Now I will tell you about my languages that I understand. I know four and I think they are all that I will need in my life, but everything can change, anytime.*
>
> *I have learnt Bosnian first, because it is my mother tongue. I don't remember when I learnt it, but pretty late, my mother says. I'm sure I've made many mistakes in speaking and writing, but right now I don't remember any. Hearing my parents speak Bosnian has surely helped me learn the language.*
>
> *I was born in Finland, so I've learnt Finnish after Bosnian. When I was young, I meant my best friend. He asked me 'What's my name?' It was funny; I thought he*

was talking to himself. When I was little, I went out very often and heard people speak Finnish. That way I learned Finnish too.

English is a specific language in my life. I always watched TV when I was young. I liked to watch a channel called Cartoon Networks. It was a channel that showed cartoons 24 hours a day. By watching the cartoons I like, I learnt English very fast. Day by day I learnt new words and started to understand the language. School helped me learn English too, after all, I am in a MYP-class. I'm sure, that English will be an important language in my life, because people all around the world speak it.

I started to study German on the 4th grade, as an A2 language. I chose German, because it is a quite spoken language in Europe and maybe I will need it. It was very hard; I still don't understand almost a thing when somebody speaks German, but I read my textbook pretty well, even it I don't understand every word.

Well, I quess I wrote enough about the languages that I understand. Next year I will stat studying Swedish. I've heard it is very hard." (Written by B3 in grade 6)

6 Research task and research questions

The research task of the present study is to give deeper understanding in pupils' communicative language use of English in foreign language teaching context overall with a particular focus in CLIL, and to contribute to actual discussions of communicative foreign language teaching and pupils' communicative foreign language use.

In the theoretical part of this study, I have approached my research task from three different perspectives. First, I have discussed some theories of communication (chapter 2) and communicative language use (chapter 3). Secondly, I have presented some foreign language teaching theories and approaches (chapter 4). Thirdly, I have discussed a multilingual language use environment (chapter 5).

This theoretical framework provides the basis for the analysis of Finnish pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews in basic education grades 1–6. My scientific interest focuses, on the one hand, on the communication strategies that these pupils use when coping with interviews in a foreign language and, on the other hand, on various language functions they use. In addition, as interviews are always interactional, I also focus on the interviewer's actions when supporting pupils to communicate.

The specific research task is to describe, analyse and interpret Finnish pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews in basic education grades 1–6. The research task has led me to formulate the following research questions:

1. What communication strategies do the Finnish pupils use to cope with the interviewer's questions?
2. What language functions do the Finnish pupils use when being interviewed in English?
3. In what ways does an English-language interviewer support the pupils' coping with English?

In order to answer these questions, I will analyse the English language audio-recorded interviews gathered during the pupils' first six school years.

7 Research methods and conducting the research

In this chapter, I will discuss research methods. First the focus is in qualitative research overall and after that the research methods and the conducting process of this research study are presented.

7.1 Research strategy

The research strategy in the present study is qualitative having the contrustivist approach. It is context bound and data based. It contains features of a quantitative research according to Creswell (1994) who states that the quantitative strategy is traditional, positivist, experimental or empiricist paradigm. The qualitative paradigm has the constructivist approach, or the postpositivist or postmodern perspective. The qualitative paradigm assumptions are as follows: (i) ontological assumption in which reality is seen as subjective and multiple as seen by participants in the study; (ii) epistemological assumption in which researcher interacts with that being researched; (iii) axiological assumption in which the study is value-laden and biased; (iv) rhetorical assumption in which study is informal and qualitative words, personal voice and evolving decisions are accepted and (v) methodological assumption which refers to inductive process and mutual simultaneous shaping of factors in which emerging design-categories are identified during research process. The study is context bound, and patterns and theories are developed for understanding, and it is accurate and reliable through verification. (Creswell 1994, 4–5.)

In this study, qualitative strategy aims to an inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem based on building a complex and holistic picture, formed with words and utterances, reporting detailed views of informants and conducted in semi-natural setting (see Creswell 1994, 2; Seale et al. 2007). Bryman (2004) states that qualitative research is often depicted as a research strategy whose emphasis on a relatively open ended approach to the research process frequently produces surprises, changes of direction and new insights. He argues that qualitative research is by no means a mechanical application of neutral tools that results in no new insights. This is found also in the present study strategy which is carried out through a case study with the principals as follows.

Cohen et al. (2007) determine case study with the following descriptions. Case study is to portray, analyse and interprete the uniqueness of real individuals and situations in a single case. It offers a holistic treatment of phe-

nomena being empathic. Individuality and subjectivity determines case study. The hallmark of case studies is significance rather than frequency. One single utterance may indicate deep significance in a matter than several utterances with very little significance. The key significance in case study is the selection of information. The researcher has to be able to find the important and ignore the irrelevant. (Cohen et al. 2007, 85 and 257–257.)

Case studies are often seen as prime excamples of qualitative research. However, Yin (2003) argues that case study is not only qualitative, but both qualitative and quantitative evidence are used to raise the credibility of the research (Yin 2003, 14). Case studies adopt an interpretative approach to data.

I agree with Holliday (2007) when he states that qualitative research looks deep in the quality of social life and leads to further, more informed exploration as themes and focuses emerge. In a qualitative approach there exists conviction that what is important to look for will emerge. It describes actions within a specific setting and invites rather than tries to control the possibility of a rich array of variables. Reality contains mysteries to which the researcher must submit, and can do no more than interpret. Qualitative research is interpretive and tries to interpret bits of reality. (Holliday 2007, 6.)

According to Tuckman (1994), qualitative research has the following features: (i) the data source is a natural setting, (ii) it attempts preliminarily to describe and only secondarily to analyse, (iii) the focus is in the process, (iv) its data are analysed inductively and (v) it is concerned what things mean. This type of research methodology is also referred as ethnography and participation observation is used as the major data collection device. (Tuckman 1994, 366.)

Also Creswell (1994) argues that qualitative research is interpretative research. The biases, values and judgement of the researcher become stated explicitly in the research report. Creswell considers such openness useful and positive. (Creswell 1994, 147.) Morse (1994) suggests that four cognitive processes appear in all qualitative methods: comprehending, synthetising, theorising and recontextualising. The researcher has to reach a reasonable level of comprehension before being able to synthesize, in other words to make generalised statements about the participants. Until the researcher is able to synthesise, theorising is not possible. Recontextualisation cannot take place until the concepts in investigation are developed fully. Some looping back and forth is inevitable. (Morse (1994, 26.)

The present study fulfils the previous qualifications. I have studied theory to reach on the level of adeguate understanding to be able to identify pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews and to analyse and

interprete it. The present study strategy contains ethnographical features in the way Boor and Wood (2006) in the following discuss. In this study the focus is in a group of pupils and their interviews. The aim is to better understand their communicative language use and to contribute the findings. Bloor and Wood (2006) define ethnography as the description and interpretation of a culture and social group. The purpose of ethnography is to provide an in-depth study of a culture that includes behaviour, interactions, language and artefacts. The aim of ethnography is to understand another way of life from the native point of view. The focus is on ordinary, everyday behaviour. Ethnographic research emphasises the need for emphatic process and the relativistic status of knowledge in which there is no one objective reality but rather a number of realities. Bloor and Wood claim also that ethnography is an active process during which a particular aspect of the world has been produced through selective observations and interpretations. (Bloor & Wood 2006, 69–74.)

According to Tesch (1990), if the research interest is in the characteristics of language as communication in content, this would constitute content analysis. If the research interest is in the characteristics of language, as process, this would constitute discourse analysis or ethnography of communication. This study fulfils the definition of content analysis, because the interest is in the charsteristics of language as communication in content.

The aim of this study is to describe, analyse and interpret Finnish pupils' communicative language use of English. The study is a case study with ethnografical features. It has an interpretative character and it tries to deepen understanding in pupils' communicative language use in English. The audio-recorded interviews offered qualitative material for the content analysis which was conducted after the transcription of the interviews. The strategy of this study is mainly qualitative but it is supported by some quantifiable data. The building of the research strategy, based on the research interest, is described in the following Figure 4.

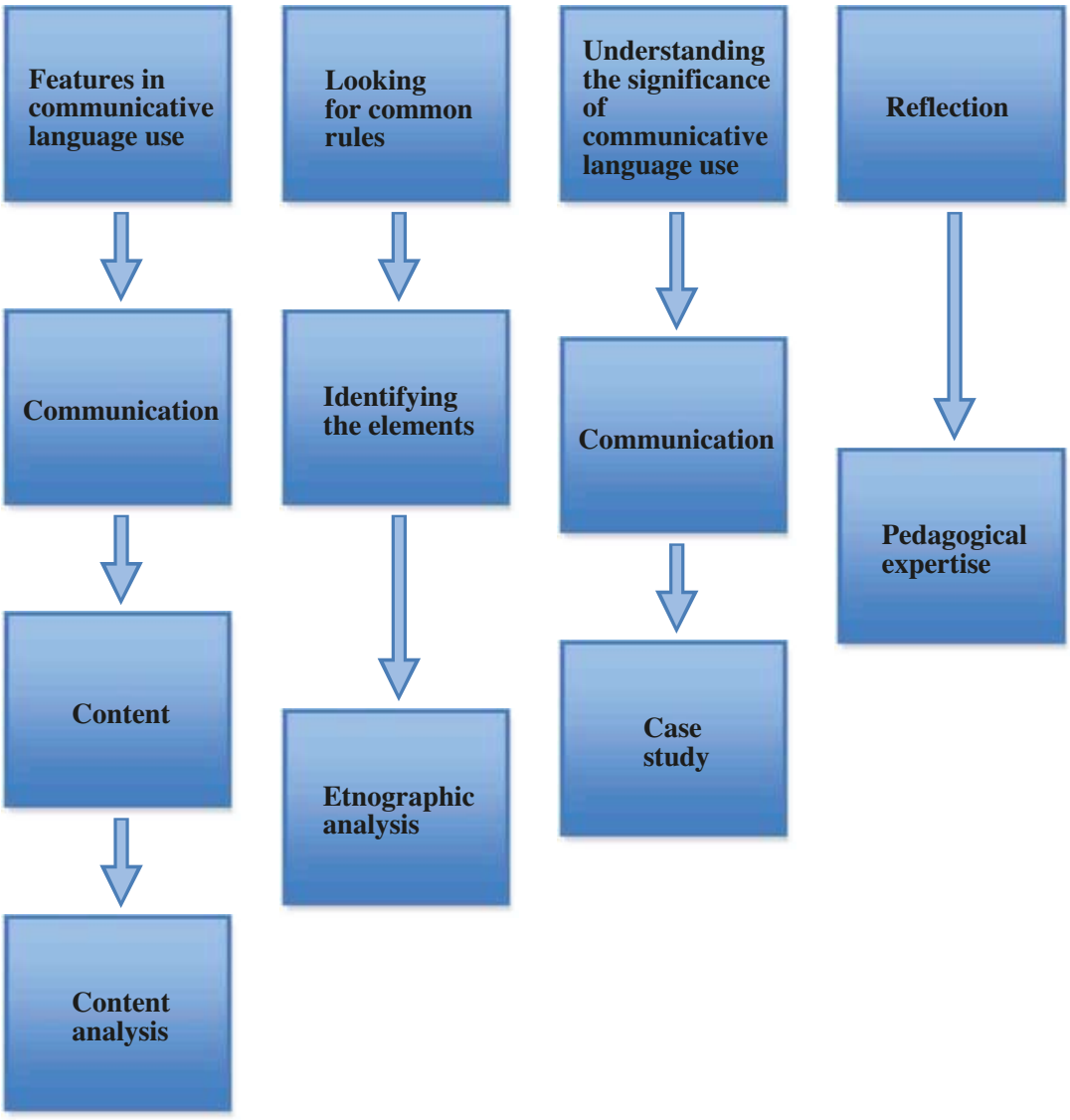

Figure 4. Research strategy based on Hirsjärvi et al. (2009, 166).

The research interest in the present study is in the Finnish pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews, in other words in the features of communicative language use. The content of communication in the pupils' utterances in interviews is studied through content analysis. The analysis concentrates on looking for common rules to identify the elements which provide ethnografic features in the analysis. Because the aim is to understand the significance of pupils' communicative language use of English, the communication is to be studied through a case study. The study contains description, analysis and interpretation and thus provides material for reflection and recommendations.

7.2 Research context

Research context in this case study lies in interviews. An interview or an observation is the context usually in ethnography (see Creshwell 1994, 150; Bloor and Wood 2006, 70). This case study contains ethnographic features. Ethnography makes use of procedures such as detailed observation or interviews to collect data that are rich and that afford multiple perspectives, and it has intensively used in the study of bilingual classrooms (Ellis 2008, 701). There is not one single ethnographic method, but in addition to already mentioned interviews and observations, Bloor and Wood (2006) suggest documentary methods. In the present study the research context was an interview setting. Van Lier (1989, 489) describes interview: one person is solely responsible for beginning and ending the interaction and for ending one topic and introducing a new topic. Berg (1995, 29) defines interview simply as conversation with purpose. The interviewer in the present study was responsible of the interviews and the purpose of the interviews was simply to make the pupils talk.

Tuckman (1994) discusses four different interview types, which are informal conversational interview, interview guide approach, standardised open-ended interview and closed, fixed response interview. The present interview context refers to informal conversational interview and it contains similar strengths and weaknesses as Tuckmann (1994) reports in the following. Tuckman sees strengths in informal conversational interview such as increasing the salience and relevance of questions; interviews are built on and emerge from observations; the interview can be matched to individuals and circumstances. According to Tuckman, the weaknesses in informal conversational interview are that different information can be collected from different people with different questions. It is less systematic comprehensive if certain questions are not to arise naturally. Also data organisation and analysis can be quite difficult. (Tuckman 1994, 374.)

The interviews in this study fulfilled the previous conditions: there was an interviewer, who was responsible for conducting the informal interview which contained an increasing number of conversational features as pupils grew older, and the interview had a purpose: to document the pupils' language use of English. The same pupils were interviewed once in each grade during their first six school years. In addition to the interviews, some documentary methods were used, such as notes made of the conversations with the interviewer and myself.

The Turku teacher training school, where I worked when I begun the present research and where the interviews were conducted for this study, had started CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) classes in 1992

and since that time pupils' oral output has been collected and audio-recorded by teachers. The informal interview has been audio-recorded every school year at the end of each spring term. The aim of this process is to document pupils' talk: the level of oral proficiency each year and the development in pupils' language use of English. The aim of the audio-recordings is not to assess students' performance. The audio-recordings are listened both by teachers at school and by pupils and parents at home. These audio-recordings are a tradition and pupils and parents are able to listen to the recordings during the summer holidays, and the pupils bring the tapes back to school again in autumn for the next recording to take place in the following spring.

The audio-recorded interviews formed the data source for the present study. The pupils were interviewed in a foreign language, English. The interviewer was a native speaker of English. He was both an interviewer and a teacher who met the interviewed pupils regularly. The interviewees knew the interviewer beforehand. In order to practise their oral skills of English the pupils were given opportunities to interact with a teacher who was a native speaker of English. The interviewer met the pupils in small group sessions approximately every second week. Interviewees were pupils whose teaching took place both in the English language and in Finnish in CLIL. The school curriculum (see 1994; 2004) defined the instruction in English language and also the amount of English, which, in this case, was approximately 25 per cent of instruction in each grade. Some of the pupils spoke several languages in addition to English and Finnish and had multicultural backgrounds.

7.2.1 Participants

The participants of this study have been chosen according to a certain criteria, which is in accordance in a qualitative research strategy (see Hirsjärvi & al. 2009, 164). The pupils whose communicative language use of English was studied were my own pupils in grades 1–2 in a CLIL class, which offered wider perspective to understand the context in this research as well as a risk to judge too subjectively and have strong predjucices towards the pupils' communicative language use.

The pupils were born in 1994 and they started their school in a CLIL class in the year 2001 at the age of seven. By the time of starting this research project the pupils were finishing their elementary studies and were about to continue to secondary school. There were nine girls and eleven boys, 20 altogether in the class during grades 1–2 and 25 during grades 3–6. The pupils were tested upon enrollment on their school ability skills and Finnish skills before being accepted to start in a CLIL class. Their English skills were

not tested at all, and they were not required to possess any kind of English skills when starting in grade 1.

Not all of the 20 pupils and later 25 in grades 3–6 were participants in the study but seven of them. The reduction to seven pupils was made due to the number of audio-recordings each pupil had accomplished. The selected seven pupils were those who had the recording made each year during the six-year period. That is to say that they were interviewed every year and the rest of the pupils had less than six recordings. The choice of those seven pupils enabled the analysis to occur in unbreakable time scale. To protect pupils' anonymity all the names appearing in the transcripts are pseudonyms. All the boys (N=4) are labelled with letter B and a number and all the girls (N=2) are labelled with a letter G and a number. The numbers were assigned randomly from one to seven.

Pupils in the class and in the school were multicultural. Six pupils out of 20, which was the total number of pupils in the class in grades 1–2, had immigrant background though they, except for one girl, were born in Finland. They spoke a language other than Finnish as their mother tongue. Two of them spoke Kurdish, one spoke Arabic, one Bosnian, one Afghan, one Bulgarian and one Cambodian. The rest of the pupils spoke Finnish as their mother tongue.

The pupils of the data (N=7) were also multicultural and they spoke five different mother tongues: Finnish, Bosnian, Arabic, Kurdish and Cambodian. All the pupils spoke Finnish either as their mother tongue or L2 or L3. They all started learning English in CLIL class from grade 1, and some of them studied German from grade 5 onwards. There were pupils who were able to speak additional languages to Finnish and their mothertongue. Tha data revealed plurilingual pupils in a Finnish CLIL class learning English.

7.2.2 Interviewer

The interviewer was a native English speaking male teacher who mainly taught in secondary and upper secondary school, in addition, he taught in CLIL classes in elementary school. He was not a class teacher in CLIL classes, however he regularly met all the CLIL pupils every second week in small group sessions, 4–10 pupils at a time, to practise their oral skills. For this reason, he was familiar to the pupils and had a common history with them since the pupils had started school. The pupils attended the small group sessions with pleasure and eagerly waited to meet with him.

The interviewer was not trained to be an interviewer, but he had been given the interviewing task as a part of his work as a native English speaker teacher in CLIL classes. He started both teaching in CLIL and interviewing

the year when the pupils of the data of the present study were interviewed for the first time. Neither the interviewer nor the interviewees had the experience of interviewing and being interviewed before.

7.3 Data collection

The data were gathered over a six-year period from spring 2002 to spring 2007. Each school year from spring 2002 during each spring semester the pupils were interviewed by the native English speaking interviewer, who was also involved in teaching in CLIL classes during the pupils' first six school years. The interview took place during the school day in a room next door to the classroom. One pupil was interviewed at a time and the rest of the pupils continued their work in the classroom next door. Sometimes the voices from classroom were audible and even disturbing which could be heard in the audio-recordings. The interviewee was absent from the on going lesson for approximately 5–15 minutes. After the interview, the pupil went back to the classroom and continued studying and the next interviewee entered to be interviewed. The interviewer audio-recorded the interviews using a tape-recorder, c-cassettes and two head microphones. The interviewer and the interviewee sat together at a table during the interview. I was not involved in the data collecting process more than sending pupils to be interviewed at the time when I was the class teacher of the pupils in grades 1–2. The data was collected totally apart from myself from grade 3 onwards when the pupils had another class teacher.

I received the audio-recorded interviews after the last interview in spring 2007. I consulted the principal regarding the possibility to use the audio-recorded interviews for research purposes. The answer was positive. I was informed that the parents have given permission for research through an inquiry conducted at the time the pupils started school. I was their teacher since November 2001.

When I started listening to the audio-recordings, I noticed that many pupils did not have recordings made each year. Only seven pupils of the 20 had interviews made every school year. I decided to choose those seven pupils' audio-recorded interviews for the final research data which consists of 42 audio-recorded interviews in which those seven pupils were interviewed six times.

During the interviewing process I had informal conversations with the interviewer. We discussed the contents of interviews when the interviewer wanted to know what pupils had been studying in class. I presented the rhymes used in grade 1 in class and provided a picture book which was used both in class and in interviews in grade 2. After the interviewing process in

spring 2007, I asked the interviewer to describe the objectives and the main focus of the interview at each grade. I made some notes of that particular conversation in my teacher's diary (see Appendix 7).

The interviewer used some standard topics in interviews, but he also had different topics according either to the grade level or the pupil. There were certain topics that were used in every interview such as greetings, and there were topics that were used with the pupils in the same grade level and topics that differed from each other according to the pupils. Each interview was different, but there were also topics which were more or less similar at each grade. The interview reflected materials and topics according to the school's curriculum (see TNK OPS 1994 & 2002) which were discussed in class. They included the themes, which were studied earlier either with the interviewer in small groups sessions or in class. Topics in grades 1–4 were familiar to the pupils as they had been either studied in the classroom or in the sessions with the native English speaker teacher. Some of the topics recurred each year at each grade, for example greeting in the beginning and at the end of the interview.

The aims in the interviews were the following (see also Appendices 1–6):

Grade 1: The aim was to make the pupils to talk in English and answer the interviewer's questions.
Grade 2: The aim was to consolidate fluency.
Grade 3: The aim was to make the pupils tell more in their own words.
Grade 4: The aim was to make the pupils to tell more in their own words.
Grade 5: The aim was to have a conversational interview.
Grade 6: The aim was to have a conversational interview.

In the following I will describe the interviews in more detail for each grade. I will discuss the themes (see Appendices 1–6) and contents of the interviews. I will also quote the interviewer with whom I had conversations during and after the six-year interviewing process. The quotations are based on informal discussion, which I documented in my teacher's diary.

Interviews in grade 1

The main aim, according to the interviewer *is to make the pupils to open their mouth and speak English and to have words on tape*. The contents and the vocabulary of the interviews followed the curriculum for grade 1 in foreign language instruction in the school. The interview began with a greeting and with a pattern *How are you?* After that pupils were asked to say a rhyme

Head and shoulders or Hickory dickory dock (see Rahman 2002b). And the interview continued with themes about colours, numbers, animals and family.

Interviews in grade 2

The aim *is to consolidate fluency,* said the interviewer. The interview measured pupils' vocabulary skills and their auditive discrimination skills. Pupils were asked to say what they see in two different pictures. And then the interviewer asked the pupils to recognize words pairs, which rhymed.

The interview themes were weather, siblings, pets, breakfast habits and school food. There were also separate questions about colours, numbers, favourite school subjects, arts lesson topics and African animals. Some pupils were asked to tell how they come to school in the mornings. Questions were not identical from pupil to pupil.

Interviews in grade 3

In the beginning of the interview there was the usual small talk with greetings. The interviewer asked the interviewee to tell the plot of a story with the help of a picture book, which was familiar to the pupils. The interviewer made open-ended questions and asked the pupils to tell or describe with the help of the picture book.

Interviews in grade 4

The pupils had to answer questions about a picture book, which they were looking at with the interviewer. They had to continue sentences and they were asked to read a passage of the picture book.

Interviews in grade 5

The interviewer described interviews in grade 5 as follows: "Pupils have more options depending on the class. There are stories to talk about and novels that pupils have read. Conversational features." The interviews touched topics which were interesting to the pupils, such as hobbies, books, food and allowances.

Interviews in grade 6

The interviewer wanted, as he described it, *to keep the interview more open.* It had more conversational features. Tell me about-questions were used. The interview topics were school, food, languages, hobbies, sports, daily routines, home countries of the pupils with a multicultural background.

7.4 Data analysis

Data analysis is, according to Morse (1994), a process that requires astute questioning, a relentless search for answers, active observation and accurate recall. It is of piecing together data, of making the invisible obvious, of recognising the significant from non significant, of linking seemingly insignificant from the insignificant, of linking facts logically, of fitting categories with one another and of attributing consequences to antecedents. It contains conjecture and verification, correction and modification and suggestion and defence. (Morse 1994, 25.)

Qualitative data, such as interview recordings, challenge the researcher to find a suitable way for analysing. Miles and Huberman (1994, 8) suggest that the analysis task is to reach across multiple data sources and to condense them and decide what to leave in, what to highlight, what to interconnect, and what main ideas are important. Analytic choices are being made constantly. They define analysis as consisting of three current flows of activity: data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing/verification. Data reduction refers to the process of selecting, focusing, simpifying, abstracting and transforming the data appearing in transcripts or field notes. Data reduction sharpens, shortens, focuses, discards and organises data to enable the final conclusions. Data display is an organised, compressed assembly of information that permits conclusion drawing and action. They may include many types of matrices, graphs, charts and networks. (Miles & Huberman 1994, 8–12.)

In the case where the researcher has practical experience in the field and suitable theory is available, building an analysing model is acceptable (Eskola & Suoranta 2000, 188). The research being qualitative in character led to the choice of content analysis to be used in the present study. Content analysis is an approach to the analysis of documents and texts which seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and reliable manner. In this study the categories were built up together the excisting theory and the available data resource.

In the present study, a content analysis was made of the audio-recorded interviews. The research focus was in pupils' communicative language use, in other words, their utterances and spoken language all in all their oral production. The unit of analysis was an utterance. At first there were not predetermined categories, but the categories were shaped along the analysis. So to analyse the data findings, I proposed first to listen to the audio-recordings as a basis for developing more formal understandings and regularities. Gradually I started to divide the data findings into themes and later categories which were partly obtained and created on the basis of the data and on theory

in the field (see Tarone & Yule 1989; Dörnyei & Scott 1997; Kumpulainen & Wray 2002).

I concentrated on working through four steps in preliminary analysis: providing the general characterisation; identifying grossly apparent features; focusing in on structural elements and developing a description. The analysis of data consisted of many steps. I began by listening to all audio-recordings several times. After that I started to transcribe first the recordings made in grade 1, I moved to grade 2 and so forth. It was a slow and time-consuming process. I transcribed the audio-recordings concentrating on pupils' utterances. But I did not pay attention to breaks, intonation or breathing because I did not consider those features relevant to this research. When listening to the audio-cassettes and transcribing them, I made notes about several issues to possible later use of them e.g. grammatical correctness; number of words, phrases and sentences in answers and pupils' personal features in language use. Later when the research process advanced, I listened to the cassettes several times again and made corrections to the transcriptions to be as precise as possible.

Because the analysis was content-based, I started to identify utterances and form thematic groups of them to be able to classity them. In during the data reduction I followed Miles and Huberman's (1994) advice and my focus moved from one point to another and classifying developed gradually. I started classifying the data by creating numerous classifying categories. By listening to the recordings and reading the transcriptions again and again I started to fill in the categories. I moved to data display and created different kinds of matrices and made preliminary descriptions. I had to go back to reduction several times and the analysing process went back and forth between reduction and display. I did not have any specific analysis model to use in the beginning, but after studying different possibilities of analysing and deepening my understanding of theory in the field, I found useful ideas on the basis of former research results (see Dörnyei & Scott 1997; Kumpulainen & Wray 2002).

There were difficulties both in identifying and classifying. However, the analysis developed during the research process along with my own understanding and learning in the matter. I wrote notes in my portfolio during the research project which helped me to develop and clarify my thinking. These notes were a valuable help in the analysing process. I like the Bryman's (2001) ideas of surprises, changes of directions and new insights in a qualitative research strategy. Because I could not have any influence on the data cathering my expectations concerning the data were sometimes misleading. The data contained surprises as well as predictable material. I had to change

direction several times for example in defining a good foreign language user from the communicative point of view.

The writing up and analysing proseeded hand in hand in a sence of process writing. Cohen et al. (2007) advise that in the chronological structure a simple sequence of chronology is used as an organisational principle. The chronology can be sectionalised in different ways. This was my leading thought in reporting the findings year after year and presenting the categories and pupils' utterances in them.

7.4.1 Analysing communication strategies

I started to analyse the communication strategies by listening to the audio-recordings several times after which I transcribed all of the interviews one after another. The identification and classification processes started while listening and continued and sharpened during the analysis. First challenge was to identify a communication strategy in a pupil's utterance. The descriptions of communication strategies helped me in identification.

There are many ways to classify communication strategies and I started by using the descriptions of communication strategies in CEFR (2001) and EVK (2003) and built some categories. I developed category labels and identified examples of each category in the data in sufficient number to completely define each category. This helped me to classify the utterances. In next step, I modified the categories according to Tarone (1980), and finally I became acquinted with Dörnyei and Scott (see Table 2) who had described CSs and classified them.

When analysing communication strategies, I finally developed and created the categories on the basis of Dörnyei and Scott (1997) and the findings that rose from the data. I chose category labels, identified examples of each category in sufficient number to define the category, in other words, I saturated the categories. I made a definition of each category. I used the definition to help to identify the communication strategies in the data. I identified additional categories and excluded some of them. I combined some categories, e.g. negotiation of meaning consists of asking for clarification, confirmation, comprehension and repetition. At the same time with forming the categories, I had to evaluate the pupils' utterances to be able to include them in different categories. I looked for relationships between categories and made connections between categorised data and existing theories.

Some utterances were clear and easy to classify, e.g. turn-taking when a pupil takes a turn to speak. But some utterances needed more thinking time to be able to place them in a suitable category, e.g. avoiding. It was difficult to identify different kind of avoiding in pupils' utterances. I did not want to take

the psycholinguistic (see Bialystok 1990) way of analysis, because it was not possible to judge the process behind the choice of the communication strategy. Avoiding is a communication strategy, which contains a lot of subcategories. I decided to combine message avoidance, not answering, stopping the answering and other strategies linked to avoidance into a single communication strategy called avoiding.

Co-operating is one of the categories in communication strategies. I spent much time in thinking and solving the problem of co-operating being a communication strategy. I wanted to underline the character of interaction in pupils' communicative language use of English. It is easy to think that all the pupils' communicative language use of English takes place in co-operation with the interviewer, and the co-operation is not a single communication strategy. However, I decided to use co-operation as a communication strategy in those cases which contained interlocutor's interaction in such co-operation which builds the pupil's answer together with the interviewer.

The identified communication strategies were counted and presented in tables in each grade. If the pupil's answer to the interviewer's question contained several communication strategies, they all were counted and reported in the tables. In this phase of analysis it became clear to me that I was an instrument myself and I had to make the choices based on theory, but also based on intuition. There is always the possibility of bias in a qualitative research and I was aware of it during the analysis process.

I did not use non-verbal categories at all, because the data consisted of audio-recordings and it would have been too demanding to make interpretations based on hearing only. Still some interesting findings were made based on hearing and the atmosphere of the interview could be heard in some cases.

7.4.2 Analysing language functions

After having analysed communication strategies, I continued by analysing language functions. To do that, according to Hébert's (2006) suggestion, I had to specify to which class or type the language function belonged, which functions were present/absent and the characteristics of these functions' hierarchical relations and any other relations that may operate between them (Hébert 2006). In the present study, language functions were identified in pupils' communicative language use of English in interview context, which framed the use of the language functions. The pupils used language functions in interaction when they responded to interviewer's questions in a foreign language. The context required much from pupils, especially in grades 1 and 2.

Language functions in the present study were much in line with Kumpulainen and Wray's (2002) classification of language functions (see Table 4). I found Kumpulainen and Wray's classification of language functions useful because they were identified in children's talk and in the school context. They were identified similarly in interaction, though not in an interview context. The context of my study differed from Kumpulainen and Wray's research context which examined mother tongue English speakers in a classroom or peer interaction setting.

I included both responsive and informational functions when analysing the language functions. How did they differ? All the pupils' utterances could have been responsive. In this research, the responsive function referred to pupil's answers which were short responses like *red, today, four.* The informational function provided more information like *apples are red; I am eating porridge today; there are four kittens.*

Pupils' communicative language use of English was analysed through content analysis and was based on an analysis of communication strategies and language functions. The analysis showed that the communication strategies were overlapping and one utterance may have contained several communication strategies and language functions. I made the decision to which CS and LF category utterances belong individually in each case by identifying CSs and LFs as replies to the interviewer's questions. I classified the CSs and LFs and I counted the amount of the identified utterances in both of them. However, the quantifiable data cannot be compared between the pupils nor between the grades, because the interviews were not identical. I chose to count the utterances, because in that way one may have an overview of the number of used utterances in different grades and a profile of a pupil as a language user in different grades. In the next chapter, I will analyse the interviewer's strategies to help the pupils to cope in the interviews.

7.4.3 Analysing interviewer's strategies

The interviewer's interviewing strategies were studied through a theory of interviewer's strategies (see Ellis 2008; Long 1982) and research findings in the data. The analysis was content-based. Ellis (2008) divides interactional modifications into discourse management and discourse repair. Discourse management consists of comprehension checks and self-repetition as well as the amount and type of information. The use of questions is important. Discourse repair includes repair of communication breakdown by negotiation of meaning and relinquishing topic and repair of learner error by avoiding other-correction. The interviewer uses several kinds of strategies to be able to help

the interviewee to answer the questions. This is very important when interviewing young foreign language learners (Ellis 2008, 258.)

Ellis (2008) argues that to be successful in interviewing children who have limited foreign language skills the interviewer uses different strategies. The interviewer, who is a native speaker of a foreign language, uses certain strategies in speaking with a foreign-language-speaking child. The interviewer ensures that the topic is understood which has an important role in the discourse management. The interviewer selects topics which are treated simply and briefly.

When analysing the interviewer's interviewing strategies, I read the transcripts through several times and after that I started to identify themes according to the theory available. I formed themes, also with those which rose from the data. I decided to listen to the data very carefully to be able to remain strongly data based. After that, I studied every interview and classified the interviewer's strategies several times. I formed categories under the themes, named them, and made the corrections and changes needed in the way I had done it in analysing both communication strategies and language functions. I saturated the categories.

8 Research results

In the following, I will present the research results and link them to theory. The results will be presented in each grade both through communication strategies and language functions to help the reader to have a closer look both at the pupils' communicative language use and the interviewer's strategies. The data extracts are genuine examples of interviews and the reader can build a picture of pupils' communicative language use of English as it has actually taken place. The research findings are based on interviews which are different from each other and each one is unique. The interviews vary according to grade and pupil. Descriptions, analysis and interpretations cannot be directly compared between pupils, grades, or between the themes, some of which are handled regularly each year.

8.1 Results in communication strategies

In this chapter I will answer the first research question: What communication strategies do Finnish pupils use to cope with the interviewer's questions in interviews?

Readers have to remember that pupils cannot be compared directly with one another because the interviews were not identical. However, I will describe all the identified communication strategies in different grades starting from the grade 1. I find it important to present the research findings also year after year by raising findings from the research data, because by doing so it is possible to achieve deeper understanding in the pupils' communicative language use of English along the basic education years.

Eleven communication strategies were identified in the data. Examples of communication strategies are discussed in each grade to better understand the pupils' use of communication strategies (CS) in interviews. Quoting is abundant in volume and contains utterances from each pupil. The typical uses of the identified communication strategies are quoted in each grade. Also remarkable, exceptional and rare uses of communication strategies in pupils' utterances are quoted when those occurred in the data.

All the identified eleven communication strategies are presented in the data and divided into categories, which are described in Table 6. The descriptions of categories are based on the earlier research and the data findings.

Table 6. Communication strategies identified in the present study (based on Dörnyei and Scott 1997, 197).

Strategy	Description
Avoiding (message, topic, word)	Leaving a message out or unfinished because of some language difficulty
Circumlocution	Exemplifying, illustrating properties
Approximation	Using an alternative word
Compensating	Translation, transfer, code-switching
Repairing	Correcting one's own speech
Confirming	Agreeing with understanding or meaning; feigning understanding
Turn-taking	Taking a turn in speaking
Private speech	Talking to oneself
Trying out	Guessing a word or meaning
Co-operating	Working together with the interviewer to cope
Negotiating of meaning	Checking meaning, comprehension, clarification

The CSs discussed in the present study are as follows:

Avoiding, according to Kellerman (1991), consists of three types: (i) the learner knows or anticipates the coming problem and avoids it; (ii) the learner knows what the target is, but finds it too difficult to use it and (iii) the learner knows what to say and how to say but is unwilling to say it. In this study avoiding consisted of all mentioned three types. (Kellerman 1991.)

Circumlocution is used when the speaker describes the properties (size, colour, shape, function) of the target object or action without using the specific vocabulary item (Tarone 1983, 62).

Approximation is used when the speaker uses a term (a word or a concept), which shares a number of semantic features with the target lexical item or structure (Tarone & Yule 1989, 105, 110–112, 194).

Compensating consists of translation, transfer, code-switching and includes both speaking in Finnish or in pupil's mother tongue. Swain and Lapkin (2000) found that pupils used their mother tongue for three main reasons: (i) moving the task along, (ii) focusing attention and (iii) interpersonal interaction.

Repairing refers to correcting one's own speech.

Confirming refers to making an attempt to carry on the conversation in spite of not understanding by pretending to understand (Dörnyei and Scott 1997). Confirming is very demanding to define to be a communication strategy because it was difficult to identify the meaning and the aim of pupil's

confirming. However in this study confirming is considered to be a communication strategy, because through confirming the interview moved on. The interviewer talked quite a lot and pupils confirmed understanding or meaning, feigned understanding to agree and to follow.

Turn-taking is used for taking turn in speaking allowing both participants to speak as needed (Long 1997; Ellis 2004).

Trying out consists of guessing, trying to answer even if the answer might not be correct.

Private speech is audible speech not adapted to an addressee (Ohta 2001, 16). It is an utterance, which a pupil speaks to himself or herself usually in low voice or whispering. Private speech in one's mother tongue is used to help the pupil to focus, to move along and to interact. The pupils' private speech occurred in pupil's mother tongue as well as in L2 or in L3, which was Arabic, English or Finnish. (see Swain & Lapkin 2000; Saville-Troike 1988.)

Co-operating is a strategy that helps a pupil to answer the questions together with the interviewer. The pupil works together with the interviewer to help the interview proceed.

Negotiation of meaning consists of finding the correct meaning of a word or an utterance. Negotiation of meaning is a way to solve communicative break downs by comprehension checks, clarification requests and confirmation checks. Negotiation of meaning is related to problems with vocabulary (see Ellis 2003, 71, 86–87).

The identified communication strategies are used in the present study according the definitions above. Because the data of this research were audio-recorded and it was not possible to observe the interviewees' non-verbal strategies, like miming, they are not studied at all. Gambits and fillers may have a communicative aim, but in this research I did not pay attention to those.

8.1.1 First steps in communication strategies

In this section I will describe and analyse the communication strategies that pupils used in the interviews in grades 1 and 2. Communication strategies in early grades were especially needed, pupils' English language use being rather limited, because they had started their school previous autumn. Language use can be communicative regardless of how long the answers are and how many words they contain. In addition, single-word responses allow pu-

pils to achieve communicative goals (Swain 1988). In grade 1 the responses were mostly single-word ones.

Table 7 gives an overview of the use of different communication strategies in grade 1. Ten different communication strategies were identified in grade 1. All the pupils used communication strategies. The most used communication strategy was compensating because of one pupil, who used it very often (N=21/27). Other pupils used compensating 0–2 times during their interviews. Five pupils of seven used Finnish in their private speech.

Table 7. Communication strategies in grade 1.

Pupil/CS[5]	**B1**[6]	**G2**[7]	**B3**	**B4**	**B5**	**B6**	**G7**	**Total**
Approximation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Avoiding	7	2	5	1	2	0	2	19
Circumlocution	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Compensating	2	2	1	0	0	21	1	27
Confirming	2	0	0	4	1	3	0	10
Co-operating	0	1	1	0	2	6	0	10
Negotiation of meaning	2 in F[8]	2	1	0	0	2	1	8
Repairing	6	1	2	1	0	1	0	11
Trying out	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Turn-taking	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	3
Private speech	1 in F, 1 in E[9]	6 in F	1 in F	0	0	4 in F	1 in F	14
Total	22	14	15	6	5	39	5	106

The pupils had learned particular interactional patterns in the classroom that they used in the interviews. Krashen and Scarcella (1978) argue that pupils develop formulas as a response to communicative pressure and they memorise a number of ready-made expressions to compensate for the lack of sufficient L2 rules to construct creative speech. The pupils had learned a pattern for opening and ending a conversation such as how to greet and to answer the question *How are you?* Some of the pupils continued by asking: *How are you?*

The pupils had also practised talking about the weather. These routines and procedures took place in the classroom every day. In the interview pupils repeated the pattern that they had learnt and had used every morning in the

[5] CS= Communication strategy
[6] B1=boy 1
[7] G2=girl 2
[8] in F =in Finnish
[9] in E =in English

classroom when the interviewer greeted them in the beginning of the interview. The patterns helped pupils to manage in the interviews and these patterns were used right in the beginning to help the pupils to get confidently started (see Krashen & Scarcella 1978). Pupils answered either with a word or a sentence. B1 answered and said *Thank you*. G2 said *Thank you* and continued with a question *How are you?* At the end of the interview B1 acted precisely according the pattern that he had learned in the classroom:

I very good... I think that's all for today thank you very much bye bye
B1 good bye Mr X

A learned pattern worked out well, but an unexpected utterance was too much to be answered in a proper way. As demonstrated in the following example, the pupil answered to the interviewer's *good summer* wishes with *hm*. He did not have a pattern for unexpected phrases and chose to use *hm* to confirm. This indicates that the learned patterns work as they are learned to use, but are not flexible. The communicative language use is strongly context-based.

I very good thank you B4 I'm going to wish you a very good summer holiday
B4 hm
I bye bye
B4 bye bye

Compensating

Compensating by using pupil's mother tongue or Finnish helped the pupils to manage in interviews. It is recommended to use mother tongue to cope in a foreign language in CLIL context (see Järvinen 2006). Three pupils of seven did not use Finnish language in their answers at all. Their mother tongue was other than Finnish. Four pupils of seven used Finnish in their answers. Finnish words were related to names and lists:

Petteri ja Patrik (Eng. Peter and Patrick)
Anwar, Suzi *ja* Basel (Eng. and)

Those four pupils also used Finnish in their answers although their mother tongue was not Finnish. Swain and Lapkin (2000) found that pupils used the mother tongue for three main reasons: (i) moving the task along, (ii) focusing attention and (iii) interpersonal interaction. In the following quote B3 first moves the interview along by helping the interviewer to name a nursery rhyme. Then he makes a confirmation check in Finnish to move along again.

I your teacher told me that you learnt some nursery rhymes in class humpty dumpty and other nursery rhymes…aa
B3 hickory dickory
I ok hickory dickory dock can you tell us that
B3 *mitä laulanks´mää sen* (Eng. what shall I sing it)
I yeah
B3 hickory dickory dock the mouse run up the clock the clock trat one, the mouse run down hickory dickory dock (singing)

This pupil, as well as three other pupils, coped by using Finnish although his mother tongue was not Finnish. This indicates that both Finnish language and the pupil's mother tongue were used to compensate for the lack of English. The following quote is an example of using Finnish to compensate.

I rabbits like to eat … carrots and what is this here
B3 a tom
I ok. Do you like apples?
B3 *en tiiä* (Eng. I don't know)
I do you like to eat apples
B3 …
I you don't like apples do you like to eat carrots
B3 …
I you don't like carrots. What kind of food do you like to eat
B3 …
I what kind of food do you like to eat
B3 …*mandariini* (Eng. mandarin)
I ooh
B3 banana
I okay

Pupil B6 used a lot of Finnish, although his mother tongue was not Finnish, compared with other pupils with immigrant backgraund. He also compensated remarkably more than others. He used compensation 21 times in his utterances, whereas other pupils only 0–2 times. He showed imaginatively communication strategies in his replies. When the interviewer asked to recognize animals in a picture, B6 seemed to answer either in Finnish or in English depending in which language the answer first came to his mind. If he could not find a correct word for the answer, he imitated the voice of an animal. He showed great skills in communicating, though his English language production skills were not very good compared with others. The following example describes his various communication strategies.

I let's look at some other things that we have learnt this year and we can start with some animals what we have here then what he swallowed
B6 *hämähäkki* (Eng. spider)
I what's that in English do you remember
B6 spiders
I spider and then she swallowed
B6 bird
I a bird to eat the spider
B6 yeah
I yeah and then what she swallowed to eat the spider
B6 *miau* (Eng. miou)
I miau what's that remember
B6 cat

Repairing

Repairing was one of the communication strategies, which the most pupils managed to use in interviews even in grade 1. In the following, example B1 was about to give a wrong colour as an answer but changes the answer by self-correction. The pupil repairs the content. B1 used repair 6 times in his utterances and other pupils used it 0–2 times in their utterances. This indicates his ability to self-corrective, grammatical and phonological skills to notice the wrong utterances, which demonstrated metacognitive skills in his language use.

I very good where are the eyes two big eyes ---the mouth what colour
B1 …re…e…yellow

In the following example B1 corrected his pronunciation.

B1 the clock struck one…one, the mouse run ...the mouse run…up …the mouse run up… the clock
I hm
B1 hickory dickory dock
I very good you want to try that one more time...again hickory dickory dock
B1 the mouse run up the clock the clock sru...the clock struck one the mouse run down hickory dickory dock

In this example B3 corrected the answer two times in order to pronounce his sister's name correctly.

I one brother do you have a sister what's your sister's name
B3 Un…An….Angie

Although G2 was weak in production and needed help to be able to answer, she was able to use repair as a strategy by changing the pronoun to a correct one.

I how do you come to school do you bicycle now
G2 no I come ...my… f … father...the
I takes you
G2 take yo… me in car

Turn-taking

Among 1st graders turn-taking was one of the least used common strategies (N=3/106). There was one pupil who appeared to use turn-taking as a strategy, and it may or may not be a communication strategy in this case. However, because it was an exceptional and a rare way of acting, it is included here. The interview was just about to end and B6 predicted the coming procedures, that the next pupil will come in soon and at that moment he will be the one to invite the next pupil from the classroom. It was very exceptional that the pupil asks a question, which had nothing to do with clarifying the interviewers question or context. The pupil seemed to be eager to act and help the interviewer and offered to invite a new interviewee from the class. The interviewer did not pay any attention to B6's question or he did not understand it because it was said with a strong local Finnish dialect and in a grammatically incorrect form.

I you are in class one all right very good B6 let's call it off today that's all for now thank you
B6 *ketä mä hake* (Eng. whom do I ask to come in)
I thank you
B6 thank you
I bye bye
B6 bye bye

Co-operating

Four pupils of seven used co-operating. In the folloving example B6 co-operated with the interviewer to be able to answer the questions. He compensates by giving a Finnish word first but by co-operation he accepted help from the interviewer and incorporated the words into his responses as opposed to pupils who just said hm.

I what colour is the spider
B6 …*keltanen* (Eng. yellow)

I what's that in English
B6 ...yellow
I good
B6 yellow
I the spider is yellow and the bird
B6 red
I red and the cat
B6 orange

Negotiation of meaning'

Five out of seven used negotiation of meaning in their utterances. In the grade 1 sample, Finnish was used mainly to negotiate of meaning. Negotiation of meaning is the process by which two or more interlocutors identify and then attempt to solve a communication breakdown or the threat of communication breakdown. The pupil was not sure what the interviewer meant and asked for clarification in his mother tongue which was Finnish.

I right---we have this lady on this picture she likes lots of candy do you know what these are called in here
B1 …*ai nää* (Eng. these /whispers)
I this one is what colour is that
B1 *ai nää* (Eng. these)
I yeah this one is green and…
I I think your teacher has told me that you have studied nursery rhymes in class like hickory dickory dock can you tell us one nursery rhyme
B1 *sanonk´ mää sen* (Eng. do I say it)
I yeah

Confirming

Four pupils of seven used confirming. In this example, B1 confirmed in Finnish that he understood when the interviewer said his name. He confirmed later his approval in English.

I B1
B1 *nii* (Eng. yes)
I yeah this one is green and…
B1 and… red
I right they are called lollipops they are lollipops we have looked also at different kinds of food what people like to eat do you know what this is
B1 …
I big, red…
B1 …red

I that's a red apple
B1 yes

In this example, B5 confirmed the interviewer's intentions, expressed understanding and agreeing with interviewer's plans.

I we are going to do different things this morning
B5 okay

Avoiding

Avoiding is the most often used communication strategy in grade 1. There is only one pupil who did not avoid. Avoiding is a complex phenomenon in language use. Kellerman (1991) defines three types in avoiding: (i) the learner knows or anticipates the coming problem and avoids it; (ii) the learner knows what the target is but finds it too difficult to use it and (iii) the learner knows what to say and how to say but is unwilling to say it. B4 gives short, quick answers but in this passage he does not give any answers at all or just says *hm*. It is difficult to say what the reason for avoiding might be, perhaps lack of thinking time or unwillingness to answer. B4 usually answers quickly to questions, which indicates that he understands them well. It might also be that he just cannot answer the question i.e. he does not remember the age of his sister.

I how old is x (B4's sister) do you know how old she is
B4 hm
I is she older than you or younger than you is she big sister aha
B4 …
I and what grade is she in is she in grade three yes she is
B4 hm

Trying out

Some pupils are eager to answer to the interviewer's questions despite the possibility of giving a wrong answer. Tarone and Yule (1989, 141–143) found out that among language learners there are very confident wrong answering learners and also non-confident right answering learners. I have made similar findings in this research, too. In the following quote it seems that the pupil gives answers at random, because he says two different answers one after another. He is not quite able to name colours but he tries out. He was the only pupil who used trying out in his utterances in grade 1 (N=3).

I what colour is his head
B3 ….ah…
I do you know what colour that is
B3 …blue… green
I right what colour are the shoulders
B3 …
I do you remember this colour so the head is green
B3 pink
I shoulders are
B3 pink
I no that's blue
B3 blue
I yeah head shoulders, knees are…
B3 orange
I good the toes are
B3 …black
I not black, but---do you remember that colour
B3 …ah..
I brown eyes which colour
B3 blue
I no shoulders are blue eyes are..
B3 black
I ears are this colour here
B3 white
I good mouth
B3 yellow
I and nose
B3 blue
I no the shoulders are blue what colour is out there same colour as the apple here it's red right

Private speech

Private speech is an utterance, which pupils speak to oneself usually in low voice or whispering. Private speech helps the pupil to focus, to move along and to interact (see Swain & Lapkin 2000). The pupils' private speech occurred in their mother tongue, L2, or L3, which were Arabic, English or Finnish. Private speech was one of the most used strategies in grade 1 (N=14/106). The amount of private speech decreased the older the pupils became.

In this example the pupil started in Finnish with private speech, then said a word in English and fragments of words or syllables and talked to himself and finally managed to find the right word. This process describes B6 to be persistent in solving communication problems.

B6 *emmäossasa…cook…tep…pa…mikä*…pancake
(Eng. I can't sa…cook…tep…pa…what …pancake)

The pupil whispers the English word which he does not know or remember and tries to remember the meaning of it.

I aha you have a sister what's your sister's name
B1 name (whispering)
I your name is B1 what's your sister's name
I okay how many toes on his foot
G2 four four
I okay three and three how many fingers together
G2 *kolme neljä* (Eng. three four /whispering)…*viis kuus* (Eng. five six)
I 3 plus 3 is how many
G2 …six
I okay how many toes does this marsian have four on that foot and four on that foot
G2 …eight
I very good

Circumlocution

Circumlocution is a rare communication strategy among young language learners (see Tarone & Yule 1989, 110–112). Only one pupil used it in grade 1. In this example, B6 tried out to answer in Finnish and in English. B6 was active in using CSs and in the following, quote he compensates in Finnish, co-operates and approximates, which is exceptional for a young language learner

I okay very good now where is his nose what colour is his nose
B6 fff...*ruskee on se*…not black (Eng. ...brown it is...)
I not black but…
B6 lod...lod...lod
I his eyes are…
B6 red
I his
B6 yellow
I hm where are his toes there you remember the colour
B6 pink
I hm and his knees are…
B6 orange
I okay
B5 black

I his nose is brown
B5 brown

In sum, in grade 1 the pupils used ten different communication strategies in their communicative language use of English, but not every pupil used. For example, B4 used only avoiding (N=1), repairing, (N=1) and confirming (N=4). Usually pupils used more than three CSs and the frequency of CSs was 5–38. B6 was the most active in using CSs and B4 was the most passive CS user. Compensating (N=27) was the most used CS, because B6 compensated 21 times, which raised the amount. Trying out was identified only once (B4). Avoiding (N=19) was the second most used category. Pupils remained quiet and did not answer to the interviewer's questions. Approximation was not identified in the data in grade 1 at all.

A single-word response was the main category of the responses in grade 1. The interviewer formulated the questions in a way that the pupils were able to answer with one word only. The interviewer did not encourage the pupils to tell or to make a sentence. All the pupils were able to make a list of colours or animals in the picture, which they were looking at. They succeeded in answering with a preposition phrase as *at home* or *in the window*. Four pupils of seven answered with a sentence and one of them produced three sentences and in one answer he said three sentences one after another. This surprised me completely because the pupil was very quiet in the classroom and did not normally show his oral English language skills.

The pupils differed from each other in language use in grade 1. B1 understood questions and usually answered with one word. He knew the interaction patterns how to greet and to say 'good bye'. He used Finnish when he negotiated of meaning. B3 was a risk-taker. He did not worry to make mistakes and he boldly made guesses. He used Finnish when he negotiated of meaning. B4 gave mostly single-word responses, but sometimes he was quiet and avoided answering. He did not use Finnish at all. B5 took a lot of time to plan his answers compared with others. He was able to answer with a sentence and used grammatically demanding forms which was exceptional in this group. He used no Finnish in his answers. G7 understood the questions and gave single-word responses. She said out loud the rhyme in the beginning of the interview with the help of the interviewer, but the other rhyme at the end of the interview she sung. B6 used a lot of Finnish in answers and also in his private speech. He used confirming which was exceptional for first graders. It appears that G2 understood more than she was able to speak.

Pupils' language use cannot always be clearly divided into different strategies in any particular moment. At times several communication strategies

can be found in one answer; that is to say, blending of strategies occurs. The earlier example of combining strategies shows that many communication strategies were used together. The pupil B6 circumlocuted, negotiated of meaning, compensated by using Finnish, used private speech to focus on the missing word, tried out with *lod* (red and lod have similar d-ending) and co-operated with the interviewer. Later he both tried out and took turn by replying before the interviewer had asked the question. It is possible that the interviewer was about to show him a picture which he saw and reacted before the question was posed.

The communication strategies in grade 2 differed from those in grade 1. While avoiding was the most often used communication strategy in grade 1, co-operating appears to be the strategy in grade 2. One reason for the difference might be that the interviews differed in length and tasks. They were shorter and the main task was to make auditory discrimination, i.e. choose which word pairs rhyme and which do not rhyme. In addition, there were topics like greeting, alphabets, food, animals, family, weather, and pupils were asked to tell how they came to school in the mornings. However, the tasks were not identical from pupil to pupil.

Pupils were not taught how to read in English. There was one question that required reading in the interviews in grade 2. I, being their class teacher, had read parts of the book which was used in the interview to the pupils earlier in the lessons in class. The interviews revealed that all pupils were able to read which was more than I could expect.

Another finding that differed from the interviews in grade 1 was that the pupils started to use longer sentences including preposition structures in their answers. Pronunciation was different from the first grade. The interviewer gave positive feedback to the pupils about wide vocabulary and clear pronunciation. He said to the pupils B7 and B6 that they had improved in speaking compared to the year before. In the following example changes in pronunciation are compared with grade 1:

tang you (B1 in grade 1) - thank you (B1 in grade 2)

B7 used Finnish language in his answers quite often in grade 1. In grade 2, there were only two occasions where he used Finnish. He had one Arabic answer.

en (Eng. I don't*)*
bab (Eng. father*)*

In auditory discrimination B3 had difficulties hearing the rhyming, or he did not concentrate on the task. It seems that he guessed, because he made so many mistakes. B4 managed to say the rhyme pairs right in every case. When the interviewer asked some pupils to tell about the topic, whole sentences appeared in pupils' answers.

I don't know. (B1, G7)
I have three sisters. (B1)
Give them food. (B4)
I have one brother. (B4)
With…I walk. (B4)
I have many food that I like and I don't know what to say. (B4)
He is 12 years old and she goes into Varissuo´s school and she is alike me. (B4)

In Table 8 the reader can see that co-operating with the interviewer was the most used communication strategy in grade 2. Although two of the pupils did not co-operate at all. Only one pupil negotiated of meaning, which was surprising, because the pupil had difficulties finding and remembering the right words to produce her answers to the questions, and her English skills overall were poor compared with others in classroom context.

Table 8. Communication strategies in grade 2.

Pupil/CS	B1	G2	B3	B4	B5	B6	G7	Total
Approximation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Avoiding	2	1	0	0	0	1	4	4
Circumlocution	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Compensating	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Confirming	2	2	1	0	2	7	4	18
Co-operating	1	10	3	0	0	7	5	26
Negotiation of meaning	0	1 in F	0	0	0	0	0	1
Repairing	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	5
Trying out	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Turn-taking	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	3
Private speech	0	2 in F	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	5	19	9	0	3	18	11	65

Co-operating

The most common communication strategy used in grade 2 was co-operating (N=26/65). Co-operating is a strategy which helps the pupils to answer the

questions together with the interviewer. In the following quote the pupil looked at the picture book and told what she saw and by co-operating with the interviewer she managed to give an answer.

G2 c is for cat
I hm…a b c
G2 *d is for ... mikä se oli* (Eng. d is for…what was it)
I that's a doll
G2 doll
I it's a doll remember this here...f
G2 f...f...is for flower
I right ok very good

Compensating

Only one pupil used compensating in grade 2, which differs remarkably from grade 1, where compensating was the most often used communication strategy. The pupil B6 compensated by using English, Finnish and Arabic in his answers. He reacted fast and he answered to the questions quickly. His answers were communicative, but occasionally the interviewer needed to know also Finnish and Arabic to understand what he said. In the following example the reader can see how the misunderstanding was communicatively resolved.

I far away how do you come to the school
B6 e…in a car
I aha did you come by car this morning who drove you
B6 *baba* (Eng. father)
I right and who's bab
B6 my f…
I your brother
B6 no
I no your…
B6 father
I right ok very good

Repairing

Repairing was not always communicative in grade 2, because the pupils were asked to say the correct answer in auditive discrimination as one can see in the following example. The pupils gave the right answer to the interviewer to continue the task, and that is why I chose to consider responses communicative. The pupil corrected his answer because the interviewer showed his dis-

approval by repeating the pupil's answer. The interviewer's intonation may have increased the pressure to correct the answer.

I and what's that...plane and...train.
B3 train
I plane and train do they rhyme
B3 no
I plain and train
B3 yes
I all right…what about these two what these are hickory dickory dock the mouse run up the..
B3 clock
I aha clock and…what are you wearing what those are
B3 I don't know
I that's a sock sock and clock do they rhyme
B3 yes

Private speech

There was only one example of private speech in grade 2. G2 talked to herself trying to remember an English word. This private speech in Finnish, which was her mother tongue, helped her to focus on the word (see Swain & Lapkin 2000). Finally, after repeating her private speech, the right word came to her mind and she said it. The following quote indicates that the private speech helps to focus and find the word needed in communication.

G2 four
I four and…
G2 *mikä toi oli* (Eng. what was that)
I all right cheese sandwich ...we have on the table a bowl of fruit what kind of fruit what could that be
G2 *mikä se oli* (Eng. what was it /whispering)
I this one here
G2 orange

In sum, the pupils used all the communication strategies identified in grade 1 also in grade 2, but not by every pupil. The frequency was between 0 (B4) and 19 (G2). B6 used CSs 18 times. Negotiation of meaning was used only once by G2. Co-operating (N=26) was the most used CS and confirming (N=18) was the second most used CS. It seemed that the weakest language users (G2 and B6) used communication strategies the most. They used many categories compared with other pupils. There was a pupil (B4) who did not use a single communication strategy. His answers came quickly and he

seemed to give the right answers. Also B5 used only a few (N=3) communication strategies. He managed very well in the interview and showed exceptionally good skills in grammar and vocabulary. Approximation and circumlocution were not identified at all.

8.1.2 Big steps in communication strategies

Big steps in communication strategies were taken in grades 3 and 4. First, I will discuss the strategies in grade 3 and after that grade 4. Communication strategies in grade 3 differed from the categories used earlier. Negotiation of meaning, trying out, approximation and circumlocution were not used at all. Compensating and co-operating were used less than earlier. The explicit inscrease of confirming was seen.

The pupils looked at the book *A Cat and A Hat* together with the interviewer. In addition to questions, they were asked to continue sentences, which the interviewer started and to talk about the pictures in the book. In Table 9 the CSs are presented in grade 3.

Table 9. Communication strategies in grade 3.

Pupil/CS	B1	G2	B3	B4	B5	B6	G7	Total
Approximation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Avoiding	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	5
Circumlocution	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Compensating	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	3
Confirming	1	2	2	4	0	6	15	30
Co-operating	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	4
Negotiation of meaning	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Repairing	2	0	2	2	1	1	2	10
Trying out	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Turn-taking	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
Private speech	0	1inF	0	0	0	1inF	1	3
Total	6	6	5	8	4	10	24	63

Confirming

Confirming was the most used communication strategy in grade 3 (N=30/63). Confirming moved the interviews towards conversational character. In this example, I consider confirming to be a communication strategy, because through confirming the interview moved on. The interviewer talked quite a

lot and pupils confirmed to agree, to understand and to follow. G7 confirmed a lot compared to the other pupils.

I and the boy...what could that be
G7 I don't know
I maybe some yoghurt
G7 yes
I looks like yoghurt to me
G7 hm
I and the father also is eating a sandwich
G7 hm

Repairing

Repairing was the second most used communication strategy in grade 3 (N=10/63). The interviewer showed a picture book to the pupils and asked questions about the plot. In the following quote, B5 answered the question which the interviewer had asked, but the interviewer did not approve it and then B5 gave a new answer. The picture they were looking at could probably be interpreted either to be taken in the morning or in the evening, because also other pupils gave similar responses.

B5 aa...evening
I no it's not evening
B5 morning
I morning right what time ... ten
B5 past forty-seven minutes

Compensating

Compensating was used few times in grade 3 (N=3/63). In the following examples, the pupils compensated using a Finnish word.

I and the boy is eating a
G2 *yoghurt-ti*
I good and the mother... is eating you know what these are
G2 cheese
I cheese and...
G2 bread
I she comes to the kitchen---what sort of things they are eating who's taking what
B6 he girl eat banana the boy eat yog ...yoghurt…*jugurttia* (Eng. yoghurt)

Private speech

Three pupils of seven used private speech once in grade 3. In this example, G2 spoke aloud to focus on the right answer (see Swain & Lapkin 2000). The effort bore fruit and she gave the right answer.

I same kind of sandwich with…what kind of sandwich
G2 cheese…
I all right cheese sandwich ...we have on the table a bowl of fruit what kind of fruit what could that be
G2 *mikä se oli* (Eng. what was it /whispers)
I this one here
G2 orange
I orange ---you remember the word oranges and…
G2 apple

Turn-taking

Turn-taking was the only strategy which was used by every pupil in grade 3. In the following example, B6 took the interviewer's role and asked a sudden question. This was exceptional and showed interactive conversational potential in the pupil.

I and then the…
B6 cat say I can't sleep
I right and at the end of the story everybody is sleeping in the parents´ bed and
B6 where is the cat
I where is the cat here yeah what time is it
B6 aa…ten…

Pupils answered the question before the interviewer had even asked the question.

I you are already in grade three--- this time I'd like to look at this story
B5 I ca
I what's the name of this story
B5 I can't sleep
I ok the story starts---but the father he
G2 I can't sleep
I he can't sleep he's awake---he turns on the
G2 lamp

Co-operating

The pupils and the interviewer co-operated less (N=4/63) than earlier in grade 3. They looked at a storybook and the pupil told the story in co-operation with the interviewer.

I what's the colour of her hair
B5 aa
I black blond brown
B5 brown
I brown ok how old you think she is...round

Avoiding

Two pupils of seven used avoiding in grade 3 (N=5). The pupil G7 gave 'I don't know' -answer to the question which she was obviously able to answer.

I fine thanks you are already in grade…are you in grade three or four now
G7 I don't know
I I think you are in grade three aren't you you already know a lot of English your English is very good---the story tells about a girl who cannot sleep--- what's this here…there is a picture of… a sky
G7 hm

The pupils in grade 3 used fewer communication strategies overall than earlier in grade 2. The frequency was 4 (B5) – 9 (B6) with one exception 23 (G7). G7 started confirming (N=15) in grade 3 a lot and that raised the amount of her CSs. The pupils used fewer different strategies than in earlier grades. They did not use trying out, negotiation of meaning, approximation and circumlocution. Co-operation with the interviewer descreased in number, and the pupils were more often able to answer the questions by themselves. Confirming (N=30/63) was the most used communication strategy in grade 3.

Confirming was the most common communication strategy in grade 4, too. Confirming increased a lot (N= 82/132) compared to earlier grades and all the pupils started to confirm. Repairing was the second used communication strategy (17/132). All the pupils used repairing, but only one of them used it more often compared with the others (6/17). The research results concerning interacting inside and outside of the classroom show that far less attention is paid to language during oral communication outside the classroom (see Springer & Collins 2008, 53). The results in the present study are in line with this. Only one pupil of seven repaired and the others did not seem to pay attention to the correctness of the language used in the interaction. This particular pupil, who repaired during the interview, had performed and

succeeded well in interviews since grade 1. She was the one who carefully used the patterns practised in the class.

In addition to earlier communication strategy categories approximation was defined in grade 4, too. Pupils were looking at the storybook and answered questions about the plot of the story. They knew the story from the sessions that they had had with the interviewer earlier during the schoolyear. The Table 10 describes the used communication strategies in grade 4.

Table 10. Communication strategies in grade 4.

Pupil/CS	B1	G2	B3	B4	B5	B6	G7	Total
Approximation	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Avoiding	5	1	0	2	0	1	0	9
Circumlocution	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Compensating	0	0	0	0	1	5	2	8
Confirming	9	10	14	13	14	12	10	82
Co-operating	0	0	1	0	1	4	0	6
Negotiation of meaning	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Repairing	3	1	1	1	1	4	6	17
Trying out	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Turn-taking	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Private speech	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	4
Total	19	13	17	16	19	27	21	132

Confirming

Every pupil confirmed and the amount of confirming was homogenous among the pupils (N=9–14). In the following example, G7 mostly confirms the interviewer´s utterances.

I it's quite cold---is there lots of snow
G7 yes
I yes sort of winter day---it will be spring already
G7 yes
I the 1st of March---last week you had a holiday did you
G7 yes
I can you tell me about your week last week how did it go
G7 I was skiing and skating and then I went home when I get the flue
I oh did you have to stay in bed for a long or---did you have a bad cough
G7 yes
I running nose

G7 yes
I headache
G7 no
I no what about fever---did your temperature go up
G7 no
I but you got some kind of bug and you had to say home inside
G7 yes
I where did you go skating and skiing
G7 hm to the …*Pelttarin kenttä* (Eng. Pelttari skating pitch)
I ok is that near your place near your
G7 yes
I hm and who did you go skating and skiing with
G7 I go with my friend Juuso
I right to go skating
G7 yes

Approximation

Approximation was identified for the first time in grade 4. Approximation is exceptional among young learners. In the following quote B5 tells what the cat is doing and uses verb *bounce,* which shares semantic features with the verb, which he would like to use. B5 shows good skills in his English use overall. He surprises me in his active and capable role in interview, which is different from his classroom behaviour. He used to be shy and quiet in class during his first two school years.

I what trick is this here what's the cat doing
B5 aa he is something like bouncing the fish ...but… with his umbrella

Negotiation of meaning

Negotiation of meaning was used by two of seven. In the following B1 expresses that he does not know the word in English and by the negotiation of meaning and co-operation the word is found. He does not remember the word himself, but his answer expresses that he has heard the word before.

I yeah tell me about that tradition what do they do and any idea why
B1 I don't know
I did anyone come to your door
B1 no
I on Sunday
B1 not no
I knocking asking---can you explain it in English
B1 no…it's hard to say

I what do the children do---can I read say you a poem
B1 yes
I and if---what does the child get in return
B1 aa… candy or little bit of money or something
I yeah what does the child give to the person
B1 I don't know what it is in English
I it's a branch---pussy willow
B1 yes
I then how do the children decorate those branches
B1 with features
I yeah is it also possible to get money
B1 yes a little bit
I aha ok 20 cents 50 cents
B1 yes
-
I what else you would like to know---and that's where Cleopatra died
B1 I think somebody came out of the…*eiku*…(Eng. no/not) in the window and dropped the...what's that in English
I what was inside that
B1 Anthony and Cleopatra
I yeah what were they
B1 fishes
I that's right it's a fish bowl
B1 aa yeah
I aa I know maybe the cat
B1 what did the cat do
I he dropped the fish bowl

Compensating

Three pupils of seven used compensating in grade 4. B6 tells about his pet and gives a Finnish word for *hare* and *zoo.* He compensates by using Finnish several times.

I oh what happened what kind of pet did you have
B6 *jänis* (Eng. hare /whispering)
I a rabbit
B6 yes
I with long years
B6 yes
I aha wow what happened to the rabbit
B6 he...(amused)...aa just...
I did he run away
B6 he was sick

I yes and died
B6 not died
I did you eat it
B6 no
I what happened
B6 we give him...in the...*eläintarha* (Eng. zoo)
I you gave it away
B6 yes
I ok what was your rabbit's name
B6 bobi

B5 uses an all-purpose word (see Dörnyei & Scott 1997) *something* to compensate.

I right---how does the fish feel about that
B5 aa…well…it's a little bi little bit ...aa ...nervous or something
I why would the fish be nervous…what do you think
B5 because the cat knows how to talk (amused)

B6 uses a word which is not Finnish nor English. He possibly creates a non-existing word.

I at the beginning of this book we have a girl and a boy ...they have nothing to do and what's the weather like outside
B6 su...aa… windy
I windy and very
B6 doirnis (not Finnish, nor English, maybe Arabic or something else!)
I and very
B6 wet

Trying out

One pupil of seven used trying out once in grade 4**.** In the following example B6 is not certain of the answer and answers slowly and quietly. He acts as an example of not-confident right answering (Tarone & Yule 1989, 140).

I hm and what does he have in his hand
B6 umbrella (not confidently)
I yes umbrella and
B6 a fish

Co-operating

Co-operating was used a few times in grade 4 (N=6/132). In the following example the pupil gave answers in co-operation with the interviewer. They formed a functioning team. The pupil reached higher in his answer with the co-operation. The interviewer scaffolded in a diligent way and B6 managed to remember the right missing verb *to eat* just in a strategic point.

I tell us what happened
B6 the cat opened the window and…
I hm perhaps the window was open already---the cat
B6 comes in the home and drops the…*mikä* (Eng. what)
I that was like a fish ball just like in the book look
B6 fish…the cat comes in the home and drop a fish bowl...there is was a fish
I yes how many fish
B6 two
I yes so she the fish bowl drops on the
B6 floor
I yes and then what happens
B6 then then aa…two fishes died
I how did they die
B6 he…
I <where are they now how did they die
B6 he…aa…
I yes the cat came in the window there was a fish bowl on the table
B6 he eat (shouting)
I right the cat knocked the fish bowl on the floor and he ate
B6 two fishes

Private speech

Four pupils of seven used private speech in grade 4 (N=4/132). G2 talked in Finnish to herself trying to remember the English words.

I yeah and what does he have in his hand
G2 books
I and in his other hand
G2 ...*hm mikä se on* (Eng. hm what is it)
I hm
G2 I don't remember it
I yes that's a rake on top of the rake there's the...the fish what is he goggling on his head
G2 cake
I yeah

G2 and coffee cup
I oh my goodness

As a summary of the grade 4, it was seen that all the pupils answered by sentences more than earlier and they increased remarkably their talking compared to earlier grades. The most used communication strategy was confirming (N=82/132). Every pupil used confirming and repairing. Other communication strategies were used little compared to confirming. B5 was the only pupil to use approximation and circumlocution, which were used only once as well as trying out and turn-taking. It is interesting to notice that in grade 4 the pupil B5 was able to use both approximation and circumlocution. Tarone and Yule argue that advanced learners use approximation and circumlocution and young learners usually do not use them (Tarone & Yule 1989, 110–112). B5 was a skilful language user and performed exceptionally well compared to the earlier interviews.

Big steps were really taken. The pupils performed as communicative language users in interviews with better skills in vocabulary and fluency. The interviews rolled ahead and communication strategies were used to cope successfully. Formal English lessons started in grade 3, and so the pupils studied English for three lessons in a week, and they also had the small group sessions with the native English speaker. This explains the great development in pupils' overall communicative English language use. But further steps were to come.

8.1.3 Further steps in communication strategies

Further steps were taken in grades 5 and 6, which I will discuss in this chapter. The most used communication strategy in grade 5 was confirming (N=132/162), as it is seen in Table 11. Confirming was the only communication strategy, which was used by every pupil. Other communication strategies were used only occasionally. The pupil G7 was the most active in using CSs and in using different CSs. Also approximation and circumlocution were used few times, which is exceptional for young learners.

Table 11. Communication strategies in grade 5.

Pupil/CS	B1	G2	B3	B4	B5	B6	G7	Total
Approximation	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Avoiding	0	0	0	5	3	1	2	11
Circumlocution	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Compensating	0	1	0	0	1	3	4	9
Confirming	21	16	16	17	25	20	17	132
Co-operating	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	3
Negotiation of meaning	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Repairing	3	4	0	0	1	0	2	10
Trying out	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Turn-taking	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Private speech	0	1 in F	0	0	0	1 in F	0	2
Total	27	23	17	22	30	26	27	162

Confirming

All the pupils used confirming in grade 5. In the following example B4 started to be more informal in confirming and said *yeah* instead of *yes*, which he used earlier. This is in line with the earlier research results. Nikula (2008) reported that CLIL pupils' language use intended to be informal in classroom interaction. The students adopted a very informal style of speaking (Nikula 2008, 215). B4 was not the only pupil with the informal style, but they were several.

I what did you put on
B4 T-shirt and sweater and…
I what about out door clothes
B4 yeah
I what about outdoor clothes did you have
B4 I had gloves
I gloves and
B4 aa…
I did you wear a hat this morning
B4 yeah
I have you got a nice warm winter jacket
B4 yeah

Repairing

Repairing was used in grade 5 (N=10/162). The pupils repaired their utterances by correcting the structure and the content of the answer. In the following quote B4 changed the verb into a correct form in his answer. B3 corrected the content and interviewer's misunderstanding.

B4 it's a bit sunny but cold and there are there is snow at he ground
I where are you from
B3 from Assyria but now its Iraq the country
I now it's in Iraq
B3 yes
I how do you spell this place Assyr...Assyria it's located within borders in Iraq
B3 yes
I which part of Iraq
B3 no no it's now all Iraq but sometimes long ago it was Assyria but now it's Iraq all the country
B1 repaired his answer and changed or gave a more precise answer.
I right 2006 and what's the weather like today
B1 cold and cloudy
I cold and cloudy---is that April fools or what
B1 not cloudy but it's cold and little bit foggy
I yes does it feel spring or winter out there

Approximation

One pupil of seven used approximation. B1 is the only pupil, who is able to reply to the interviewer's small talk *a pleasure talking to you.* Usually pupils were quiet and I assume that they did not know what to say. B1 said a word *same*, which shares semantic features with the utterance he has in mind and managed to communicate the meaning.

I **t**hank you B1 always a pleasure talking to you
B1 same
I let you go---bye for now see you
B1 see you

Compensating

Four pupils of seven compensated in grade 5**.** In the following example B5 uses the word *somewhere* in a very strange place. Assumingly he transferred the meaning from his mother tongue. He also compensated in Finnish.

I ok when do you usually go to bed in the night any way
B5 somewhere at ten o'clock
I are there any girls' teams
B6 yeah but…not in inter
I inter doesn't have any girls teams
B6 in *ysi nelja* in...I don't know (Eng. nine four)
I 94
B6 yeah

G7 compensated by using the all-purpose word *something* (see Dörnyei & Scott 1997) for the words she did not know or remember in English.

I hm have you ever hurt yourself
G7 yes
I outs your angle or your knee or
G7 aa… I broke the...here something
I you broke something
G7 yes
I so it wasn't just a sprain you broke a bone in your foot
G7 yes

Later she compensated by using a Finnish word for an English one.

I anything else---or your knees
G7 I have...aa jumped to my…
I neck
G7 neck
I yeah you fell on your neck
G7 no I do...aa I should do a...*voltti* (Eng. somersault)
I a volt yeah
G7 but I didn't do it and I jumped then I…
I right---it didn't go according to the plan
G7 yes

B5 transferred the Finnish term *translate* into *turn* in English context.

I you had to write something what did you write about
B5 aa… we had to turn Finnish...aa
I translate
B5 yeah translate
I ok from Finnish into English
B5 yeah

Circumlocution

One pupil of seven used circumlocution in grade 5. In this quote G7 had difficulties to tell about her gymnastics training because she did not know the terms in English. She explained her gymnastics lesson and a specific training by using other words to describe the proper action.

I what sort of things you do
G7 aa...there is a some... and we jump over it
I yeah like a bar
G7 no…aa... some
I sort of spring
G7 no from spring we jump over it with our hands and then we push over it and do…

Co-operating

Three pupils of seven used co-operating. In co-operation the interview moved on and brakedowns were avoided.

I you know what that stuff is called when snow gets soft and is very watery
B1 I don't know in English
I it's called slush
B1 slush

In sum, in grade 5 pupils tend to use 3–4 different CSs, however B6 and G7 exceptionally used five different CSs. The number of CSs is quite high, because all the pupils used confirming quite a lot but other CSs only occasionally. Only one pupil (B1) used approximation to cope in the interview. Usually young learners do not use approximation, but in this research data this strategy was used. This is in line with earlier research which reports, that usually advanced language learners use approximation. (see Tarone &Yule 1989, 110–112.)

Confirming is the most used communication strategy also in grade 6 (N=221/281). Only occasional cases of compensating, repairing and avoiding are found. B6 is the most multifaceted communication strategy user. He co-operates, negotiates meaning, confirms, repairs, avoids, tries out, compensates and uses private speech in Finnish. His strong tendency to use many different communication strategies differs from other pupils, who use fewer (approximately 1–4) different categories. His private speech in Finnish is significant because his mother tongue is not Finnish but Arabic. Other pupils do not use private speech neither in Finnish nor in their mother tongue in grade 6.

The following Table 12 presents a summary of the communication strategies, which the pupils used in grade 6.

Table 12. Communication strategies in grade 6.

Pupil/CS	B1	G2	B3	B4	B5	B6	G7	Total
Approximation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Avoiding	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	5
Circumlocution	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	3
Compensating	2	3 in F	4	0	1	3 in F	2	15
Confirming	24	30	40	23	57	22	25	221
Co-operating	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	5
Negotiation of meaning	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Repairing	1	1	0	0	9	1	3	15
Trying out	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Turn-taking	4	2	0	0	0	4	1	11
Private speech	0	0	0	0	0	1 in F, 1 in E	0	2
Total	32	37	44	25	71	37	35	281

Confirming

In the following example B4 confirmed a lot but did not contribute to the interview. This particular example describes his utterances along the years. He says and gives very little information to the interviewer. This might indicate socio-cultural issues because B4 has Asian background. The pupil's personal features of keeping answers very uninformative might be one reason, too. Savignon (2002) claims that efforts to identify similarities and differences in language use between cultures have raised more questions than provided answers. Each individual is unique and may not conform to a more general norm.

I what are the difficult things about it
B4 …the writing
I yeah---the word order they say
B4 yeah
I do you know what I mean by word order it's a bit different
B4 yeah
I than in English for example but you can write English pretty good
B4 yeah
I and can you also read English

B4 yeah
I ok have you ever read any English books
B4 yes
I harry potter books
B4 hm yeah

Compensating

Compensating was the second most used communication strategy together with repairing in grade 6 (N=15/281). In the following example B6 easily compensates using Finnish even still in grade 6 which was exceptional compared to his classmates. This example shows how his focus is on meaning, not on form. Springer and Collins (2008) claim that the focusing on form was dominant to completing the task when studying the language users who were advanced adult L2 users. B6 talked to himself and used a Finnish word for the missing English word which the interviewer scaffolded to him, and he managed to mediate the meaning and achieved the communicative coal.

I did you have any homework last night
B6 hm yes
I what did you have
B6 we needed to get… what's the…*mainos* (Eng. advertisement)
I advertisement
B6 yep
I ok you had to what find an advertisement
B6 yes and cut it
I and cut it
B6 yep
I cut it from a newspaper ok what kind of advertisement did you find
B6 aa ice cream

Repairing

Five pupil of seven used repairing in grade 6**.** One of them repaired 9 times of 15 which was the total amount of repairing in grade 6. In this example he repairs his pronunciation.

I B5 good for you---grade 7 how do you feel about that
B5 I'm pril pretty exited about it
I hm you think that things are pretty harder than this year
B5 yeah

Avoiding

Two pupils of seven used avoiding in grade 6. In the following example, the interviewer tries to ask about the trip that B4 has made but the replies are short and do not tell a lot. B4 has not told hardly any personal facts along the six years course. I think that the reason is not the lack of English language proficiency or lack of communicative competence, but differences in the socio-cultural competence. Perhaps he is not allowed to tell personal issues to others.

I hm did you get used to the heat
B4 I got used to it
I you got used---what is the capital of Cambodia do you remember the capital
B4 no

Co-operating

Two pupils co-operated with the interviewer still in grade 6. A mixture of communication strategies complemented one another. In the following example the reader may find repairing, compensating and co-operating.

I good what's the today
B6 May the 16th of …aa *eiku* (Eng. not)
I yes
B6 aa 207
I 2000
B6 2007
I good when is your birthday by the way
B6 aa one hour
I when is your birthday by the way is your birthday in May
B6 nnno
I which month is it in
B6 it's in ...*elokuu* (Eng. August)
I January February…August
B6 it's in February

Private speech

One pupil of seven used private speech in grade 6. In this example B6 used both Finnish and English in his private speech. This was exceptional compared to others who did not use private speech at all in grade 6.

I ok B6 good morning
B6 good morning
I how are things today
B6 aa… fine
I good what's the today
B6 May the 16th of ...aa *eiku* (Eng. no/not)
I yes
B6 aa …207
I 2000
B6 2007

Circumlocution

Three pupils of seven used circumlocution in grade 6. B1, G2 and G7 used circumlocution in their responses which is exceptional among young learners. G2 explained her hobby, horses. The subject matter is familiar to her and so she is able to describe the function.

I what sorts of sports are you interested in
G2 aa the do y that's like gymnastic on a horse that's called *vikellys* (Eng. vaulting) in Finnish
I aha
G2 that's you do something on the horse you don't ride by yourself there is there can be three peoples same time on the horse
I wow
G2 and then you do some…things there
I like like circus riding or
G2 li something like that
I and you do that
G2 yeah
I really
G2 yeah (amused)
I what sort of things you do exactly on a horse
G2 *no* (Eng. well) we stand there and do some…*tasapainoilua* (Eng. balancing)
I you must have very good balance I was just going to say
G2 *no* yes I got…do something (Eng. well)
I you feel confident enough to do certain tricks
G2 yeah
I while the horse is catting or riding
G2 he's per s...walking or then *tai* we I haven't done anything but else but in when the horse is walked we do there the (Eng. or)

The pupils used ten different communication strategies (N=281) in grade 6. The most used CS was confirming (N=210) which all the pupils used. Approximation was not used at all. Two pupils G2 and B6 both compensated three times in Finnish which was exceptional compared with other pupils. B6 was weaker in his English skills compared with other pupils and his use of CSs was the highest. His CSs included also private speech in Finnish and English, which is exceptional, because other pupils did not use private speech at all in grade 6. His active CS use indicates that he needs communication strategies to cope in interviews and he is capable to use them, too. Pupils' communicative language use was successful, but content of their utterances might have been more demanding. They did not use complicated sentence structures, not many sentences in their responses, but answered usually shortly. The only exception was B3, who eagerly explained his football tactics, which indicated that familiar context creates abundant language use.

Further steps were taken towards conversational features and conversations in grades 5 and 6. The interviewer thanked the pupils for having nice conversations with them. The interviews give impression of conversations. The communicative language use of English is really taking place in the interviews.

8.1.4 Interpreting the results in communication strategies

The communication strategies which were identified consisted of turn-taking, co-operating, negotiation of meaning, confirming, avoiding, approximation, circumlocution, compensating, repairing, private speech and trying out. This research finding is in accordance with studies of communication strategies (see CEFR 2004; Dörnyei & Scott 1997; Tarone & Yule 1989). The pupils used various communication strategies in their communicative language use of English during their first six school years. The communication strategies differed from pupil to pupil and from grade to grade. Some of the pupils preferred to certain type of communication strategies along the six-year period and some of the pupils used different kind of communication strategies along the years. The pupils managed to use communication strategies in interaction and their use of English was communicative.

The pupils used all identified communication strategies, but there were individual differences. Some the pupils used achievement strategies more than avoiding, which might indicate pupils' motivation to communicate successfully. It may indicate their personal character features in using CSs, too. Avoiding was identified more often in early grades. The role of the interviewer was important to influence to the chosen CSs. The type of his ques-

tions influenced the used CSs. Sometimes there was not enough thinking time for answers. That is one reason why the avoiding i.e. being silent, was used more in grades 1–2.

Different pupils

Only one pupil (B4) of seven used avoiding more than achieving strategies, which might point to the pupil's way of communicating or cultural differences. It might have something to do with socio-cultural competence, in the development of which Savignon and Sosyev (2002) place particular emphasis. A major objective of socio-cultural education via both mother tongue and L2 is to prepare learners for intercultural communication. Cultural matters influence language use as well as social matters.

Schachter (1974) found out that Chinese and Japanese learners produced fewer clauses than for example Arabic and Persian learners. The research findings in this present study are in accordance with the mentioned results. An Asian pupil (B4) produced less clauses as well as used fewer CSs than the Arabic (B6) and the Kurd (B3) pupils. B4 was the only pupil who did not use communication strategies at all in grade 2. He gave correct and quick responses which was typical for his answers over the six years.

Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) do not see communicative competence as important as researchers and teachers have traditionally considered. They argue that successful communication comes less from knowing which communication strategy to use at which point of interaction than it does from choosing which speech style to speak with whom, about what and for what effect. Kramsch and Whiteside (2008) claim that the notion of symbolic competence is a way of conceiving of both communicative and intercultural competence in multilingual settings. Language user has to learn to see oneself through one's own history and subjectivity and through the history and subjectivity of others. (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008, 2 and 24.) They claim that symbolic competence enables the communication in multilingual settings. Their arguments raise questions such as how language users enhance the knowledge of the history and subjectivity of others and how one can find and recognise one's own. In the present study the data consisted of pupils' (ages 7–13) communicative language use including their communication strategies. I see that Kramsch and Whiteside's arguments are not adequate when dealing with children, because children are not old enough and capable enough to be conscious of symbolic competence.

The results reveal that there were pupils who were able to use communication strategies a lot, but their English language skills, for example of vocabulary or grammar, were not good compared with other pupils in the data.

There were also pupils, who seemed to have good grammatical competence, but they were not eager to talk, and also their use of communication strategies was more limited. There were pupils who were not eager to talk, but knew their grammar and were able to repair their utterances. Tarone & Yule (1989, 141–143) found out that among language learners there are very confident wrong answering learners and also non-confident right answering learners. I have made similar findings in this research, too. B3 was an example of the former and B1 the latter. B3 used trying out –category and made a lot of mistakes and B1 seemed not to have confidence in himself and did not take risks by trying out.

According to Ellis (2003, 110), foreign language learners, who are skillful in using communication strategies and who are able to overcome problems in communication, may become so adapt at maximising their existing linguistic competence that have no need to add to it by attending to new ways or forms of input. In the results of the present study, there were indications of interlanguage to which Ellis (2003) refers, as B6's English use showed. For example, B6 used English which was communicatively effective but grammatically incorrect. The communicative goal was fulfilled in his communicative language use of English, though the utterances had much to be improved grammatically and vocabularly. However, with the help of the interviewer the pupil was able to use English communicatively. This makes me think that the origin of his language skills might be in naturalistic context of immigrant family's language use containing interlanguage together with language teaching at school.

B6 was behind in his English skills compared with other pupils during all the data collecting time and he was not able to reach the same level as the others. I received this information from my own observations during grades 1–2 and from his teacher in grades 3–6. His mother tongue was Arabic. B6 used a lot of communication strategies, which is typical for weak language users (see Poulisse 1990). G2, whose mother tongue was Finnish, was also weak in her English skills and communicative use in the beginning, but her skills developed quickly during the data gathering process and she was able to cope well in the interviews during the last two years. G2 had the possibility to develop strong Finnish mother tongue skills, but B6 did not have that possibility with his Arabic, which was his mother tongue. This is in accordance with the studies of the importance of one's mother tongue skills in developing in using a foreingn language.

Table 13 summarizes the most used CSs in each grade and the total amount of CSs, which the pupils used in each grade. The table provides an overview of pupil's CSs. The description gives an overall impression of lan-

guage use and the reader can see changes over time and between pupils, though the numbers cannot be compared straight forward, because the interviews were not identical.

Table 13. The most used communication strategies in grades 1–6 by pupils and the total amount of CSs.

Gr/Pupil	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
B1	Avoiding 7/22	Confirming 2 Avoiding 2/5	Turn-taking 2 Repairing 2/6	Confirming 9/19	Confirming 21/25,	Confirming 21/25
G1	Private speech in F. 6/14	Co-operating 10/19	Confirming 2/6	Confirming 10/13	Confirming 30/36	Confirming 16/22
B3	Avoiding 5/15	Co-operating 3 Trying out 3/9	Confirming 2 repairing 2/6	Confirming 14/17	Confirming 40/44	Confirming 16/18
B4	Confirming 4/6	- 0/0	Confirming 4/8	Confirming 13/16	Confirming 23/28	Confirming 17/22
B5	Co-operating 2, avoiding 2/5	Confirming 2/3	Co-operating 2/4	Confirming 14/19	Confirming 57/70	Confirming 25/32
B6	Compensating 21/38	Co-operating 7, Confirming 7/18	Confirming 6/9	Confirming 12/17	Confirming 22/33	Confirming 22/33
G7	Avoiding 2/5	Co-operating 5/11	Confirming 15/23	Confirming 10/21	Confirming 17/25	Confirming 20/27

Communication strategies were used together one complemeting the other. The amount of confirming increased the older the pupils became. By confirming, the pupils communicated understanding, comprehension, agreement, approval or also feigning understanding. From grade 4 onwards the pupils' most favourite CS was confirming which was used in every grade by the majority of pupils (see Table 13). G2, B3 and G7 did not confirm in grade 1, B4 did not confirm in grade 2 and B5 did not confirm in grade 3, apart that the pupils confirmed in every grade. Confirming gives an impression of confidence in using a foreign language. The pupils became more confident and confirmed.

The most used CS of B4 in every grade was confirming, except in grade 2 where he did not use any communication strategy at all. He did not speak a lot and did not tell about himself or about his opinions. He gave very neutral impression of himself in interviews over the years. This may indicate to socio-cultural matters (see Savignon & Sosyev 2002). B4 had an Asian background and demonstrated reserved behaviour.

Confirming was the element of the conversational interview. Confirming gave also a positive impression of the interview. One reason for confirming might have been the fact that the pupils have had short sessions with the interviewer every second week over their school years and that had made them familiar in confirming by the example of the interviewer and the classmates. Confirming was perceived as a functioning communication strategy in pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews.

The results showed that some pupils were more competent in communication than others. Their strategic competence was better, that is to say that they were able to use communication strategies more than others. Some pupils compensated for the strategic competence by having good sociolinguistic competence and grammatical competence. Some pupils (N=2/7) used more and various communication strategies with poor grammatical competence and they coped. Some pupils' utterances were grammatically competent, but the pupils (N=3/7) did not use a lot of communication strategies and they coped.

Plurilingual pupils with immigrant background were successful in using communication strategies. It is probable that they have had encounters with foreign languages and interactions with a foreign language in their new home environments. That may have caused that they were comfortable using English. The socio-cultural issues may be behind those findings. Socio-cultural theory with the holistic perspective stresses the social factors in learning and communication (Ohta 2000, 53; Lantolf 2000; Alanen 2003). According to Säljö (2000; 2001) language is simultaneously a collective, interactive and personal socio-cultural tool. Because of that language can be seen as a connection between culture, interaction and individual thinking (Säljö 2000; 2001, 86). These results are in line with previous research results which underline the importance of socio-cultural setting and interaction (see Tarone 2007; Savignon & Sysoyev 2002; Säljö 2001; van Lier 2000; Södergård 2002; Harjanne 2006).

8.2 Results in language functions

Language functions are the second major component of analysis in this study. In this chapter, I will answer to the research question: What language functions do the Finnish pupils use when being interviewed in English? I have identified 12 different language functions which were used by the pupils. The language functions, as they are discussed in the present study, are defined in the following:

Affective refers to one expressing personal feelings and emotions (Hymes 1972, 37–71; Jakobson 1960; Kumpulainen & Wray 2002, 39 and 51).

Argumentational deals with reasoning and supporting one's judements (Kumpulainen & Wray 2002, 39 and 51).

Compositional involves creating or revising a spoken or a written text (Hymes 1972, 37–71; Jakobson 1960; Kumpulainen & Wray 2002, 39 and 52).

Experiential refers to expressing one's personal experiences (Kumpulainen & Wray 2002, 39 and 52).

Expositional is demonstrating a phenomenon or an experiment (Kumpulainen & Wray 2002, 39 and 52).

External thinking refers to one thinking aloud (Kumpulainen & Wray 2002, 39 and 52).

Imaginative is that one introduces or expresses imaginative situations (Halliday 1975, 20 and 37).

Informative is that one provides information (Jakobson 1960; Brown and Yule 1983; Kumpulainen & Wray 2002, 39 and 51).

Interrogative refers to one asking a question (Kumpulainen & Wray 2002, 39 and 52).

Judgemental refers to one expressing agreement or disagreement (Kumpulainen & Wray 2002, 39 and 51).

Reproductional refers to one reading aloud from a text or one repeating what another person has recently said (Kumpulainen & Wray 2002, 39 and 52).

Responsive means that one responds to a question or a statement (Kumpulainen & Wray 2002, 39 and 52).

All the language functions are not used in each grade and not in every pupil's utterances, as is discussed later. The language functions vary from grade to grade and from pupil to pupil according to interviewer's questions. Language functions in pupils' utterances cannot always be identified separately from each other. One utterance may contain informative, experimental and judgemental functions and even more. All the identified language functions are however classified.

8.2.1 Responsive language functions

In this chapter I will discuss language functions used in grades 1 and 2. They were mostly responsive in character. In grade 1 the pupils used 8 of the 12 identified language functions. These included intentional, responsive, reproductional, interrogative, informative, judgemental, compositional and external thinking. A summary of language functions used in grade 1 is presented in Table 14.

Table 14. Language functions in grade 1.

Pupil/LF[10]	B1	G2	B3	B4	B5	B6	G7	Total
Affective	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Argumentational	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Compositional	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	13
Experiential	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Expositional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
External thinking	2	7	0	0	0	3	2	14
Imaginative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Informative	5	7	10	0	17	2	1	42
Interrogative	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	5
Judgemental	4	2	0	3	2	5	2	18
Responsive	25	18	15	26	12	27	22	145
Re-productional	4	3	2	0	6	10	3	28
Total	43	39	30	31	26	50	35	266

The responsive function was the most used language function in grade 1 (N=145/266). The typical response was that the pupils answered by naming the colour, number or the animal in the picture that the interviewer showed to them. Re-productional was the second most used function which took place when pupils repeated the (correct) answer given by the interviewer. The judgemental function was included answers of *yes* or *no.* Often, the judgemental function took place after many different questions made by the interviewer as a result of pupil's difficulties either in understanding the question or having inadequate time for thinking before answering. The interviewer was quick to offer options to choose, if the pupil did not answer immediately.

[10] LF=language function

Pupils B1, B6 and G7 used all the language functions identified in grade 1 in their utterances. They also used more responsive functions compared with other pupils. In the following example B1 uses the responsive function.

I very good where are the eyes two big eyes the mouth what colour
B1 yellow
I yeah and the ears are
B1 green
I and where are the toes what colour are they
B1 purple
I and the knees are
B1 orange
I a strange looking creature

B6 used re-productional function more than others, because he regularly repeated the correct answers after the interviewer. He had 50 identified instaces of language functions which is the highest number of language functions compared with others. In the following example, B6 used the re-productional function.

I right a cat to eat the bird and then what did she swallow… this is not a cat but…
B6 dr.fro…
I dog
B6 dog…
I good
B6 dog and dd…
I and then….cow
B6 cow
I and then… a big animal…
B6 d…d…
I horse
B6 horse

I identified a very special case of using language functions once in grade 1 and it is worth mentioning. The language function was intentional. The interview was just about to end and B6 predicted the coming procedures, that the next pupil will come in soon and at that moment he will be the one to invite the next pupil from the classroom. The pupil seemed to have intention to help the interviewer and offered to invite a new interviewee or he was willing to perform in class by inviting the next interviewee in. The interviewer did not pay any attention to B6's question or he did not understand it because it was

said with a strong local Finnish dialect and in a grammatically incorrect form using interlanguage.

I you are in class one all right very good B6 let's call it off today that's all for now thank you
B6 *ketä mä hake* (Eng. whom do I ask to come in)
I thank you
B6 thank you
I bye bye
B6 bye bye

This example is also discussed in communication strategies section. It represents compensating strategy. The pupil used Finnish instead of English or his mother tongue Arabic. Some communication strategies and language functions overlapped each other.

Language functions in grade 2 differed from the language functions in grade 1 and their use increased nearly to double. There were eleven identified language function categories. The amount of judgemental function and informative function both increased. Argumentational function was identified for the first time as well as experiential function. The pupils had to agree or to disagree whether the words given by the interviewer rhyme or do not rhyme which explained the amount of the judgemental function. Other language functions were interrogative, expositional, experiential and affective function. All the pupils demonstrated 4 of the functions and there were just a few examples of the others. B4 used language functions the most (N=82/425) and G2 used language functions the least.

Table 15. Language functions in grade 2.

Pupil/LF	B1	G2	B3	B4	B5	B6	G7	Total
Responsive	11	19	14	25	10	17	19	115
Reproductional	9	0	15	13	13	13	15	78
Interrogative	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
Expositional	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Experiential	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Affective	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	3
Informative	14	18	9	13	14	6	7	81
Judgemental	19	10	21	30	11	23	22	136
Argumentational	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Compositional	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	4

External thinking	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Total	55	50	61	82	51	59	67	425

In the following example informative language function was exceptionally strong in B1's language use:

I here is a boy eating an apple do you have any brothers at home
B1 no
I no we have here a girl playing with a cat look do you have any sisters
B1 yes
I tell me about your sister what's her name and how old is she
B1 13 Henna
I and does she go to this school does she go to this school
B1 yes
I ok all right
B1 I have three sisters
I you have three sisters so Henna is 13…
B2 15 Heidi
I hm
B1 *ja* 18 Janina (Eng. and)
I wow three big sisters and then little B1 this small little brother right
B1 yeah

Experiential function is found in the following example, though grammatically not correct, but communicative. G7 was exceptionally informative compared with other pupils.

I what did you have for breakfast this morning
G7 hm I'm eating this morning bread and milk

B4 had a high number of using language functions in his utterances, because the judgemental function raised the number. He tended to answer by yes or no to the interviewer's questions.

8.2.2 Informative and judgemental language functions

Both informative language function and the judgemental language function were the most used language functions in grades 3–6. The informative function accounted for nearly half of all identified language functions in grade 3. The pupils were looking at a storybook and answered the questions about the pictures and the plot.

Table 16. Language functions in grade 3.

Pupil/LF	B1	G2	B3	B4	B5	B6	G7	Total
Responsive	14	10	25	18	24	28	35	154
Reproductional	7	0	7	12	5	8	8	47
Interrogative	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Affective	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	3
Informative	25	46	26	27	20	14	21	179
Judgemental	1	2	3	7	1	7	5	26
Argumentational	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	3
Compositional	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	4
External thinking	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	3
Total	49	59	66	66	50	60	71	421

The main language function categories were informative and responsive in grade 3. Every pupil used judgemental function, but there was a decrease in the amount of judgemental function compared to earlier years. The pupils were able to give answers to the questions and the interviewer did not ask questions that required yes/no answers, as we can see in the following example.

I ok---then what happens
B3 ...then …he s… go to kitchen
I right and he pours her a glass of
B3 milk
I hm and she is drinking her glass of milk when…
B3 boy comes and sh... he said I can't sleep
I right and that boy must be her
B3 brother
I good and the father...also…what does he give the boy
B3 father milk
I good
B3 glass of milk
I glass of milk then
B3 mother comes and she said I can't sleep
I and what does she do…now everybody is
B3 she makes some fruit

There were twelve identified language function categories in grade 4. The most used language function was informative, and judgemental was the sec-

ond most used function and the third was re-productional function. These three accounted for 86% of the responses.

The pupils used more different functions than in previous grades, but the instances of other functions, which they used, were not high. Expositional (N=2/566), experiential (N=8/566), compositional (N=2/566) and imaginative (N=2/566) functions were identified for the first time in grade 4.

Table 17. Language functions in grade 4.

Pupil/LF	B1	G2	B3	B4	B5	B6	G7	Total
Responsive	14	11	18	21	14	28	5	111
Reproductional	3	1	4	3	3	4	4	22
Interrogative	3	0	3	3	3	2	4	18
Expositional	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Experiential	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	8
Affective	0	0	1	0	3	2	0	6
Informative	33	47	34	19	31	21	26	211
Judgemental	29	28	20	15	16	20	36	164
Argumentational	7	3	2	2	1	0	1	16
Compositional	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
External thinking	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	4
Imaginative	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Total	90	95	87	65	73	79	77	566

B5 and B3 used the imaginative function in grade 4 which had not been used in earlier grades.

I or so ok ---then what happens
B5 the cat with the hat comes into their home
I right---how does the fish feel about that
B5 aa…well...it´s a little bi little bit ...aa …nervous or something
I why would the fish be nervous…what do you think
B5 *because the cat knows how to talk* (amused)
I one reason...what do cats like to eat
B5 aa…fish

In this quote B3 gives an answer that has nothing to do with the story that he is talking about with the interviewer.

I tell us what happened how did Cleopatra and Anthony die
B3 aa...one men come and then he kill him with gun
I no you know better than that who came in trough the window
B3 …cat
I and what happened then
B3 then he go to the…aa go to the table and then he eat the ...ag and the fish
I yes but before he ate the fish what did he do to the fish bowl...the cat
B3 he broke them
I how did the fish bowl brake
B3 he pushed that down from the table and then that broke
I yes---and then
B3 Anthony and Cleopatra died
I right…where is the cat now
B3 now he's gone
I yeah how did he get out of the house
B3 from the window

The previous passage gives impression of a frustrated speaker. He seems to be bored for some reason and he suddenly answered in a very strange way. His answer is imaginative and full of action and aggression, too. The answer was not correct in the interviewer's eyes. He demanded the pupil to answer better, which the pupil did in co-operation with the interviewer.

An example of external thinking is identified in G2's utterance.

I yes she has made herself a cheese sandwich---what's the father eating
G2 …sandwich
I same kind of sandwich with…what kind of sandwich
G2 cheese...
I all right cheese sandwich ...we have on the table a bowl of fruit what kind of fruit what could that be
G2 *mikä se oli* (Eng. what was that/whispering)
I this one here
G2 orange

The affective function was found when the pupils laughed in their answers as in this example.

I anything special on the weekend
B4 I play football and play computer and…going skeeing
I ok very active weekend where did you play football outside or inside
B4 out …outside
I outdoors really who did you play with
B4 I my …I and my brother my sister... no no sister ei

I with your brother
B4 small brother
I little brother
B4 yeah
I ok what your little brother´s name
B4 suzu
I right and how old is he
B4 five years old
I and how old are you
B4 ten years old
I and you are a big boy
B3 yeah (laughing)

The pupils became more capable in using language functions and in overall their communicative language use of English in grade 4. As in the earlier examples is seen, a pupil used imaginative function. This demonstrates that their foreign language skills have developed quite a lot compared to the level of earlier grades. Argumentational and experiental functions were also identified which confirms the indications of the development of pupils' abilities to express their thinking skills.

There were twelve identified language functions used in grade 5, as is demonstrated in Table 18. The most used language functions are judgemental, informative and responsive. The argumentational function has increased compared to the earlier grades.

Table 18. Language functions in grade 5.

Pupil/LF	B1	G2	B3	B4	B5	B6	G7	Total
External thinking	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
Responsive	18	10	20	14	20	23	5	110
Reproductional	2	0	2	1	6	10	1	22
Interrogative	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	3
Expositional	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Experiential	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Affective	2	1	0	1	1	4	4	13
Informative	41	34	23	18	30	29	23	198
Judgemental	41	35	28	34	41	29	22	230
Argumentational	3	5	8	6	8	9	5	44
Compositional	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Imaginative	5	0	0	2	0	0	0	7
Total	113	87	82	77	106	107	60	632

Judgemental function was the most used language function in grade 5 (N=230/632). The pupils expressed their opinions and judgement, as in the following quote about B5's opinion of potatoes.

I good what about do you like potatoes or rice
B5 I don´t like potatoes
I you don´t like potatoes do you like our school potatoes here
B5 no

The data indicated that all the pupils started to use the argumentational function more which is one indication of improvment in their English language skills. For example, B3 added arguments to his reply.

I yes ok how did you come to school this morning
B3 I walked to school
I where is your bicycle
B3 aa it's home I don't use it right now I use it in summer
I right what do you think you need a new bike for this year or c an you use the old one
B3 I think I need a new one because it's too small to me

The language functions, which the pupils used in grade 6, were divided into twelve categories. The most used language functions were judgemental (N=275/662), informative (N=171/662) and responsive (N=90/662). The argumentational, imaginative and affective were used the most in grade 6 compared to earlier grades.

Table 19. Language functions in grade 6.

Pupil/LF	B1	G2	B3	B4	B5	B6	G7	Total
Responsive	4	4	20	19	12	23	8	90
Reproductional	0	0	2	3	6	6	1	18
Interrogative	3	0	0	0	0	3	1	7
Experiential	1	4	0	1	1	4	0	11
Affective	9	1	0	0	11	4	7	32
Informative	26	30	32	13	36	14	20	171
Judgemental	27	28	65	38	56	29	32	275
Argumentational	1	6	8	0	14	5	4	38
Organisational	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
External thinking	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Imaginative	0	0	5	4	3	5	0	17
Total	72	73	132	78	139	95	73	662

The following examples were chosen to demonstrate the characteristics of language functions in pupils' communicative language use of English in grade 6. B1 used the organizational function, a new category of language function to appear in the data. B3 and B5 used individually nearly twice as many language functions as others in average. Also B6 used more language functions than the average pupil. These three pupils were active in speaking and the interviews had a conversational characteristic. They spoke Finnish as their L2/L3. B4 did not use argumentational function which is exceptional compared with others. The interview gave the impression that he preferred to keep speaking in facts and was hardly ever willing to express his own opinion. In the following quote, B3 used argumentational and informational function.

I which language you find most difficult easiest
B3 maybe Arabic is the... the hardest and the… Finnish or English is the easiest
I what makes Arabic so difficult then
B3 there is a difficult words and sometimes I mix them with my own language
I oh I see is the writing the same than your own or much different
B3 much different
I do you know how to write in Arabic
B3 no
I aha are you going to learn some day
B3 maybe
I all right why do you want to learn Arabic

B3 my I don't know but my mother and dad lived there and they know how to speak it
I ok
B3 and they speak a lot of Arabic with their friends and
I right do you ever get to speak it yourself
B3 sometimes
I who do you speak with
B3 with my friends and we go to… city where they speak Arabic
I which country would that be
B3 *Syyria* we were there about eight months ago (Eng. Syria)

The following quote includes all the most used language functions identified in grade 6: informative, argumentational and judgemental function. B5 informed the interviewer about choices that pupils had made. He agreed, explained and judged.

I but what about this German why did you take that
B5 well we… had to take one… foreign language to study and most of u… most of us took... German
I was the other option
B5 yeah Russian French aa Sweden
I ok you had to choose a language like a B-language or something
B5 I thought we had to but some of our classmates didn't take anything
I I see when did this happen when did you start studying German
B5 aa on the 4th grade
I so it has been 3 years now
B5 yeah
I ok how is it going
B5 ...I'm not so good in German but (amused)
I are you going to continue next year or
B5 I ...well I thought about it and I thought to stop learning German
I hm you have to---Swedish
B5 yeah

One pupil used external thinking twice in grade 6. B6 used external thinking in Finnish once still in grade 6 which is similar to what he had done during the earlier grades.

I good what´s the date today
B6 may the 16th of …*aa eiku* (Eng. aa no but)
I yes

8.2.3 Interpreting the results in language functions

Summary of pupils' language function use shows that the responsive function was slightly used the most. This result was predictable, because the data were cathered in an interview context and pupils had to reply to the interviewer's questions. Also the interviewer's way of asking questions favoured responsive function to occur which will be seen in the following chapter. However, the responsive function was more common in early grades, whereas from grade 3 onwards the informative function increased, and later informative and judgemental functions became the most used functions. It is interesting that young pupils were able to use various language functions in an interview context, which framed their overall communicative language use of English.

When interpreting the results of language functions, the fact that communicative language use always has a function and the communicative language use is studied in an interview context in the present research need to be kept in mind. As Tarone (1997) claims, the essential function of language is communication among and between people and stresses the sociolinguistic perspective (Tarone 1997, 431). In this case the communication takes place in an interview setting and that is why the response function is strongly presented in pupils' communicative language use. However, it has been interesting to identify other language functions than response in the data.

The results of the analysis of the language functions indicate that the pupils were able to use the response function in grade 1, though their English skills were not yet developed very much. In grade 2, the judgemental function came along, which could be seen as a development compared to the previous year. Informative function was the most used function in grades 3 and 4 which was also a positive indicator of the development of pupils' communicative language use in language functions, because to be able to use informative function, one has to possess adequate pragmatic competence in communicative language use. The start of formal English lessons three times a week explains the development in grades 3–4. Argumentational function was added to the most used language function in grades 5 and 6 which indicates that the pupils were able to think about their replies. This is in line with Jäppinen's (2003) study of developing thinking skills in CLIL.

As Savignon (2002) connects language use with learning and states that language use is recognised as serving the ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. It is essential that learners use language for a variety of purposes in all phases of learning (Savignon 2002, 6). The most used language functions during grades 1–6 were informational, reproductional, judgemental, responsive and argumentational. During the first four grades the four language func-

tions mentioned were used, but during grades 5 and 6 the argumentational function was the fourth most used language function (see Table 20).

Table 20. The most used language functions in grades 1–6.

	Informational	Judgemental	Reproductional	Responsive	Argumentational
Grade 1	2[11]	4[12]	3[13]	1[14]	
Grade 2	3	1	4	2	
Grade 3	1	4	3	2	
Grade 4	1	2	4	3	
Grade 5	2	1	5	3	4
Grade 6	2	1		3	4

In grade 5, the pupils used different language functions the most. Usually the language functions were limited to the five mentioned earlier. Other functions were used only occasionally. The interviewer's questions might have influenced to the variety of the functions.

The pupils were willing to speak and their vocabulary widened and grammatical skills were much better in grade 4 compared to the earlier grades. The fact that the pupils started to use more argumentational function from the grade 5 most likely indicates that their overall English language skills had developed and they were able to explain their opinions and statements. Also the interviewer's questions demanded information and argumentation. The older the pupils became, the more the variety of their language functions increased. This result is opposite to the results of communication strategies. The older the pupils came, the less communication strategies they used. This might be interpreted in a way that when the pupils were more competent in their communicative language use of English, they were able to use more functions. That is to say that they were able to use language in more various ways and at the same time they succeeded in their communicative language use of English with less communication strategies. Research results report that weaker foreign language users use more communication strategies in their utterances.

[11] the second most used language function
[12] the fourth most used language function
[13] the third most used language function
[14] the most used language function

8.3 Results in interviewer's strategies

This chapter focuses on the third research question: In what ways does an English-language interviewer support the Finnish pupils' coping with English? The data in this section are based on what appears to have happened based purely on the transcripts of the interviews. The interviewer's identified support is divided into four main categories and several sub-categories, which are discussed, as follows.

The interviewer was a native speaker of English, while some of the pupils spoke English as their L2 or sometimes L3. The interviewer used certain strategies that are found to be successful in speaking with L2 speakers (see Ellis 2008, 258). The mother tongue speaker ensured that the topic was understood which was the key issue in the discourse management.

The interviewer used several kinds of strategies to be able to help the interviewee to answer the questions, in accordance with interviewer's strategies discussed in Hirsjärvi and Hurme (2001). This was very important when interviewing young foreign language users. Also Ellis' (2008) discourse management consists of comprehension checks and self-repetition as well as the amount and type of information, which is found in the present research results, too. The use of question is important as well as discourse repair which contains repair of communication breakdown by negotiation of meaning, relinquishing topic and repair of learner error by avoiding other-correction. The interviewer used several kinds of strategies to help the interviewee to answer the questions. The research results follow Long's (1982) research results, which determined similarities in an interlocutor' several means of making the input more comprehensible.

The interviewer used also certain patterns in interviews, but he also had different topics according either to the grade level or to the pupil. There were certain topics that were used in every interview like family, hobbies and weather. There were topics that were used with the pupils in the same grade level and topics that differed from each other according to the pupil.

The interviewer talked with the pupils trying to make everyone speak. According to the interviewer, he aimed to use the same topics in the interviews as those used in teaching in the classroom context. If the pupils were studying colours in class, the colours may have been the topic in his interviews. This was the case with young learners in grades 1–2, but the topics differed from the classroom topics when pupils were more capable of using English.

All that is said earlier had, to my understanding, an influence on interviewer's strategies. The use of strategies differed from pupil to pupil. The

interviewer knew the pupils, their weaknesses and strong sides in foreign language learning and in communication. That was why the interviewer may have used different strategies individually with each pupil. I will present the interviewer's strategies which were identified in the interviews. The main strategies the interviewer used were: (i) comprehensible input, (ii) making the athmosphere relaxed, (iii) choise of topics and (iv) positive feedback. Examples of each strategy are presented with particular substrategies used by the interviewer.

8.3.1 Comprehensible input

Comprehensible input consisted of several sub-categories which are discussed as follows.

Comprehension check

The interviewer made comprehension checks to make sure that the pupils had comprehended his utterances. Usually the comprehension checks took place mainly in early grades, but the following comprehension check was identified in grade 6.

(grade 6)
I you may get to read an art novel in MYP
B1 what
I you may get to read the art novel do you know what I mean by novel it's like a book
B1 yeah I know

Tailor-made questions

Single-word responses were the main category of the answers in grade 1 (see Table 1). The interviewer formulated the questions in a way that the pupils were able to answer with a single word. In the following example the interviewer gave the pupil two options to choose from to be able to answer.

(grade 1)
I big city London were you in London
G2 no I… I don't remember the city name
I all right but not London
G2 no
I ok was it in the summer time or was it in winter
G2 summer

Repeating the question

The interviewer repeated the question to help the interviewee to answer particularly in early grades. The questions came quickly and the interviewee could not answer immediately. Time for thinking and planning was not enough. The following passage shows how the interviewee's thinking does not go on, but is interrupted and the final answer did not express anything though G2 was obviously planning to say something more.

(grade 3)
I have you ever visited England
G2 …
I have you ever visited England
G2 …
I have you ever visited England
G2 one
I once..yes…nice place
G2 yes
I looking---out of the window
G7 yes
I thinking what
G7 …
I thinking what
G7 hm everything
I hm all sorts of thoughts
G7 yes

Multiple questions

The quote is a typical example of the interviewer trying to help the pupil to answer his question about the family by modifying questions. G7 did not say anything. The questions came assumingly too fast for G7 to be able to react. It is important to give enough time for answering. The lack of thinking time may be a reason why G7 does not answer.

(grade 2)
I they are brothers do you know what brother means
G7 …
I brother do you know what that is they are brothers they have a mother and a father they are brothers do you have any brothers at home are there any boys at home where you live so you are G7 hm
G7 …

I do you have brothers at home or any girls any sisters no no brothers no sisters
G7 no
I okay

The interviewer helped B1 to answer by repeating the question, changing the question, giving an example and finally giving the right answer which B1 affirmed with the judgemental function. The interviewer's prosedures may not be helpful after all. B1 does not know which question to answer because the questions come quickly in a row.

(grade 2)
I what's your teacher's name
B1 …
I what's your teacher's name
B1 …
I my name is Mr X what's your teacher's name what's your name
B1 B1
I what's my name
B1 Mr X
I right what's your teacher's name do you know your teacher's name is it Helinä
B1 yes

The interviewer changed the question to help the pupil to answer in the following examples.

(grade 4)
I ok what do you like doing wintertime outdoors
B4 hm may be go skiing
I hm cross-country or down hill
B4 …
I do you like this traditional way of skiing
B4 yeah

(grade 5)
I tell me about gymnastics
G7 aa (laughter)
I tell me all about gymnastics I have no idea what's involved
G7 …
I where shall we begin how often do you train a week
G7 I go to gymnastic 5 time in a week
I yeah---Monday to Friday
G7 no Tuesday to Saturday

I hm and what time of the day you usually practise
G aa at 3 o'clock to 6 o'clock

Alternatives

The interviewer gave two or more alternatives to choose from. This happened most often in early grades.

(grade 2)
I sunny is it more like a winter or spring day
B3 ss...spring
I why is that
B3 aa it's sunny and there is no not much snow

Providing extra-linguistic material

In some cases the interviewer made the interview questions more concrete and showed a picture or picture book to make it easier for the pupils. The pictures were familiar, because the interviewer had used them during his short sessions with the pupils earlier during the school year.

(grade 3)
I hm and you ---what do you see on that page here
G2 house
I yes
G2 and tree
I hm what's the weather like
G2 not very nice
I no and we have inside the house
G2 girl and boy

The interviewer extended the context by telling more about it.

(grade 3)
I yeah and what does he have in his hand
G2 books
I and in his other hand
G2 ...hm mikä se on (Eng. hm what is it)
I hm
G2 I don't remember it
I yes that's a rake on top of the rake there's the….the fish what is he goggling on his head
G2 cake
I yeah

G2 and coffee cup
I oh my goodness

Scaffolding

Scaffolding was much in use along the grades. The interviewer helped the pupils by offering the right word or by helping to reach the proper expression.

(grade 4)
I put the fish back in the
B3 in the…
I fish bowl
B3 fish bowl
I hm---can you tell us what happened here
G7 aa there comes a cat into the window and the table and it put down the glass
I what kind of glass was it it was one of these here---the fish bowl
G7 yes
I can you say fish bowl
G7 fish bowl
I yeah
G7 and the fish bowl and Anthony and Cleopatra were fishes and they and the cat eat them
I that's right---where are Anthony and Cleopatra now
G7 in the cat's
I hm
G7 tummy

(grade 3)
I right a glass of milk and while she is drinking her glass of milk
G7 then …then her…
I big
G7 big
I big sister or big …
G7 brother
I hm
G7 comes downstairs I can't sleep
I right and
G7 then the father get him too milk

(grade 5)
I good and you are in grade
B1 5
I 5 and what's the date today any idea I'll help you here

B1 the 4th of ...oh
I what's the name of the month January February March
B1 April
I right 2006 and what's the weather like today

(grade 6)
I you had to write something what did you write about
B5 aa... we had to turn Finnish...aa
I translate
B5 yeah translate
I ok from Finnish into English
B5 yeah

(grade 2)
I how do you come to school do you bicycle now
G2 no I come ...my… f … father...the
I takes you
G2 take yo… me in car

8.3.2 Making the atmosphere relaxed

Warming up

Analysis of the data indicates that the interviewer tried to create a relaxing atmosphere by talking with the interviewee before recording. It seems that the interviewer spoke about the topics that will come along in the interview. The data recordings contained references to the earlier conversation which had taken place just before the proper audio recording. The interviewer used expressions like *you mentioned before* or *a while ago you said*. He tried to lower the edge to speak and created a safe atmosphere.

Following passages are from the interviews which contained references to warming up. Usually the native speaker teacher used only English when speaking with pupils. I assume that he also used English in the warm up sessions in this research data. I am not able to confirm that on the basis of data, but in classroom and small group interactions only English was accepted for use by the English speaking teachers.

(grade 1)
I not really but you mentioned a while ago that somebody quite important is in town now on holidays
G2 hm…
I from England what's his name
G2 Matias

I Matias how are things with Matias everything is okay
G2 yes
I yeah what did Matias have to say---did you get to talk to Matias
G2 little bit
I what did he have to say
G2 ...aa…I don't remember

In grade 1 the interviewer and G2 had talked about G2's hobbies before the audio- recording. The interviewer had got the information before the interview from the interviewee and he used the information in his questions allowing G2 either to agree or to disagree.

(grade 1)
I not yet ok you mentioned I think you like horses don't you
G2 yes
I and you do that quite often was it four times a week
G2 yes

Both examples earlier were from the grade 1. The pupil G2 did not use English voluntarily in a classroom context. She needed encouragement in speaking English. She appeared to be quite hesitant in her answers during the interview and that increased the interviewer's talk time. I think that the interviewer wanted to prepare G2 to answer his questions and he used warming up in her case.

(grade 3)
I yes you told me you like drawing
B5 yeah

(grade 4)
I and when do you usually go to bed at night
G7 hm I go to bed at 9 o'clock but then I read there
I yes but you don't read harry potter you told me
G7 hm… I have read some but not every
I cause---it's about 1000 pages
G7 yes I like big books

Humour

The interviewer used humour even in the grade 1. Some pupils did not react to his humour; either they did not follow his speech, did not understand it, or just missed the point. The interviewer made the pupils laugh by joking or

asking silly questions. In the following example the interviewer asks a silly question and makes the pupil shout.

(grade 4)
I ok---what grade are you in now
B1 four (shouting)

(grade 4)
I is it so that you have some sisters
B1 yeah three big sisters
I tell me about them
B1 …hm they always tease me
I oh no---why would they like to tease nice guy like you
B1 I don't know (amused)
I what sort of things do they do to you
B1 they call me name with names and something

Confirming

The interviewer showed approval by confirming and helped the pupil to continue the answer and at the same time to communicate more. Confirming was used regularly in every grade and with every pupil.

(grade 1)
I now what are the colours of the animals we start with a small fly
B5 aa… blue and… green…
I yeah and then
B5 a…ss…
I a spider
B5 a spider's colour is …yellow and green
I hm
B5 a bird's colour is… red… yellow...brown
I hm
B5 a cat's colour is… orange... dog's colour is…aa
I remember that colour
B5 no
I yeah it's purple
B5 purple
I good and then
B5 cow's ...colour is white and orange
I and then the
B5 and horse's colour is pink and black

(grade 3)
I and what sort of food did you eat there
B3 here was…there was…aa…potatoes fish… meatballs chicken
I hm
B3 and there was… there was much food
I and what did you have to drink
B3 I drink coca cola and juice

(grade 3)
I which evening which days
G2 Monday
I hm
G2 Tuesday… Friday and Saturday
I what sort of things do you see in their bedroom…
G2 car
I hm what else…
G2 bear
I teddy bear yeah
G2 jeans
I right
G2 lamp
I hm
G2 book
I yes books yes…picture of a
G2 paper

Co-operation

The answers were built up in co-operation. The interviewer started and the interviewee continued. Co-operation was mainly used in early grades, especially when the interviewee needed help to cope with English. Weaker pupils needed more co-operation with the interviewer. In the following example the pupil is looking at a picture book.

(grade 3)
I this girl lives in a big …
B3 house
I round the house there is lots of…
B3 tree

(grade 4)
I yes and then what happens
B6 then… then aa...two fishes died
I how did they die

B6 he..
I where are they now how did they die
B6 he…aa…
I yes the cat came in the window there was a fish bowl on the table
B6 he eat (shouting)
I right the cat knocked the fish bowl on the floor and he ate
B6 two fishes

(grade 1)
I what's that
G7 aa
I that a nose or what is this
G7 *keltane* (Eng. yellow /whispering)
I yeah mouth is like a banana same colour as a banana
G7 *keltane*
I ye...yell…
G7 yellow

(grade 3)
I still a winter day why winter
B1 because there is ss...so much snow
I yes and this morning was quite
B1 cold

Ignoring grammatical mistakes

The interviewer did not correct at all the mistakes pupils made in grammar, but he let the pupils continue their answers.

(grade 4)
I right when the fish bowl hit the floor what happened
B1 it crashed
I yeah and broke---and
B1 the cat eated them
I right good where's the cat now
B1 …he got out of the window

8.3.3 Choosing the topics

Familiar topics

The interviewer chose familiar topics that he used in the interviews each year. The topics and themes he used were studied in the classroom or in the small group sessions earlier with the interviewer. Knowing the pupils and the curriculum the interviewer was able to choose familiar topics. In this example, the

interviewer chose to ask questions about Palm Sunday traditions which were familiar to the pupil and those traditions were also discussed in class.

(grade 4)
I still rather cold---did you notice some witches and wizards running around
B1 no (shouting)
I on the weekend no
B1 no
I last weekend---little children get dressed up
B1 yes I know
I yeah tell me about that tradition what do they do and any idea why
B1 I don't know
I did anyone come to your door
B1 no
I on Sunday
B1 not no
I knocking asking---can you explain it in English
B1 no…it's hard to say
I what do the children do---can I read say you a poem
B1 yes
I and if---what does the child get in return
B1 aa… candy or little bit of money or something
I yeah what does the child give to the person
B1 I don't know what it is in English
I it's a branch---pussy willow
B1 yes
I then how do the children decorate those branches
B1 with features
I yeah is it also possible to get money
B1 yes a little bit
I aha ok 20 cents 50 cents
B1 yes

The familiarity of the topic appeared to help the pupil to answer the questions. B4 talked about his brothers, and he said more than one word which was typical of his other answers during the interviews.

(grade 4)
I ok do you know anyone in the other part of the building
B4 yeah
I who do you know
B4 …my two big brothers are there
I your two big brothers are there oh

B4 yeah
I what are their names
B4 brother 1 and brother 2
I ok and tell me about your big brothers
B4 …aa...brother1 is on 7th grade and brother 2 is on the...aa high school … the third

Interesting topics

The interviewer chose the topic that interests the interviewee for example cars, football, or horses. The use of interesting topics increased during the later years in grades 4–6. He begun to know the pupils and their interests and that is why he made different choices for the topics. The pupils were able and willing to speak about their hobbies. Talkative pupils responded to interesting topics more than the quiet ones.

(grade 5)
I Williams hm---are you big fun
B1 I watch it every time it's good
I yes was last week's race exciting
B1 yes

(grade 6)
I in Paimio ok how did that game turn out
B3 we won 2-1
I pretty exiting---and who scored the goals
B3 I did one and my friend did
I congratulations
B3 thank you
I right did you score the winning goal or the first goal
B3 winning goal
I when the pressure is on you are the man---you've lots of energy
B3 yes

Demanding more

The interviewer was ready to demand even more and more precise answers. The interviewer knew that the pupil should be able to answer the question "what's the time" because this was practised in class from the grade 1 onwards.

(grade 3)
I what time is it
B3 aa...

I what time is it ...what number is that
B3 four
I no this number here
B3 ten
I ten…
B3 forty seven
I right
B3 ten forty seven
I ten forty seven

8.3.4 Positive feedback

It appears in the transcripts that the interviewer had a positive attitude towards pupils. He always found ways to give positive feedback about individual utterances or about the whole interview during the years. In these examples the interviewer gives positive feedback to pupils in grade 6 encouraging them to continue to secondary school.

(grade 6)
I ok you are brave girl thank you G7 it was nice again to talk to you your English is very good you understand everything I say an you can actually converse quite well
but sometimes there are these gaps you don't know what to say right
G7 yes
I you're kind of thinking…hm… what to say next that makes a person like me quite nervous native speakers don't like when there are those gaps in our conversation but there is lots of time for that I´m sure when you graduate from high school you'll be fully bilingual thank you G7 that's all for this year and we'll see you bye bye
G7 bye bye

(grade 6)
I that's very good…B4 as you know your English is very good did you get to speak English in Cambodia do they speak any English down there
B4 no
I not really--- you have no problem communicating in English cause your English is very good I hope all the best for next year B4 when you go to grade 7 don't worry about next year there won't be that much more work but the days will be longer
B4 yeah

In sum, the interviewer made a huge effort to help the pupils to cope in the interviews. He spoke a lot (sometimes too much), gave alternatives, co-

operated and did not correct pupil's mistakes or if he did, he did it in a sensitive way. This all made it possible for pupils to understand and to be understood. Sometimes the interviewer hurried ahead and I got the impression that the pupils did not have enough time to answer. This may have had influence on those pupils' utterances who needed more thinking time.

8.3.5 Interpreting the results in interviewer's strategies

The interviewer used several kinds of strategies to help the interviewees to answer the questions. This is very important when interviewing young foreign language users. The interviewer's task was to make the interviewee to understand the questions. The interviewer used certain patterns in interviews, but he also had different topics according either to the grade level or the pupil. There were certain topics that were used in every interview, like family, hobbies and weather. There were topics that were used with the pupils in the same grade level and topics that differed from each other according to the pupil.

The interviewer was a native speaker of English, while some of the pupils spoke English as their L2 or sometimes L3. The interviewer uses certain strategies (see Ellis 2008, 258) when speaking with L2 speakers. The mother tongue speaker ensured that the topic is understood which was the key issue in the discourse management. The interviewer talked with the pupils trying to make everyone speak. I had informal discussions with the interviewer along the years, and according to the interviewer, he aimed to use the same topics in the interviews that were used in teaching in the classroom context.

All that is said earlier had, to my understanding, an influence on interviewer's strategies. The interviewer knew the pupils, their weaknesses and strong sides in foreign language learning and in communication. That is why the interviewer may have used the strategies individually with each pupil. The strategies differed from pupil to pupil, and the strategies used were nearly tailor-made for each pupil each year. Some of the pupils did not need any support from the interviewer in grades 5 and 6. This highlights the ability and teacher skills of the interviewer to help the pupils to reach their potential. In CLIL research constantly becomes stated the demands for the teacher to be able to promote pupils' foreign language learning and language use. This particular interviewer, who acts also as a teacher in CLIL, managed to use his previous knowledge about the pupils to create functioning context to the pupils' communicative language use of English.

However, the interviewer talked a lot, which is typical for native speaker interviewers. He was active in supporting and helping pupils in interviews.

Sometimes giving more thinking time might have given the pupils chances to produce more utterances. The interviewer avoided correcting pupils' utterances as, for instance, Ellis (2008) recommends, but helped them to continue by co-operating.

The interviewer made the atmosphere relaxed by using humour and warming up before the interview. Emotional state affects in foreign language learning. Krashen's (1985, 7) affective filter hypothesis (self-confidence, motivation, anxiety state) stresses the pupils' affective state in learning situation. To avoid or lessen foreign language anxiety is one of the reasons why small talk is used. Foreign language anxiety as a term refers to feelings of tenseness and apprehension that many language learners experience in foreign language situations (Pihko 2008, 130).

The interviewer talked with a pupil before the interview. This small talk was kind of an ice-breaker before audio-recording the interview. I believe that this helped the pupils to cope in the interviews, and anxiety or fear did not disturb too much. From the audio-recordings it was apparent that there were traces of nervousness in the beginning of some interviews, but they disappeared gradually towards the end of the interview. Scarcella and Higa (1982) claim that the native speaker interviewer can create a supportive atmosphere and make constant confirmation checks to be sure that he or she will be understood. The present research findings support Scarcella and Higa's arguments. The interviewer managed to create a supporting foreign language use environment.

The interviewer seemed to know who needed demanding, who needed encouraging, who understood humour, and who liked to talk about hobbies and who preferred to keep the interview formal. He modified the speech according to interviewee, as Long (1982) recommends. The interviewer used different strategies to different pupils and changed strategies along the years. B3 needed much interviewer's strategies during the first three interviews, but after that he seemed to manage with less help. B4 did not need much interviewer's strategies neither in the beginning nor in the last interviews. His style to answer remained similar over the six years. B6 occupied the interviewer the most, because his English language skills were weaker compared to the other pupils. G2 was a challenging pupil to the interviewer at first, but her English skills became stronger year by year.

The fact that the interviewer was familiar with the interviewed pupils can be seen positive in two senses. Because there was only one interviewer, there was no variance between the interviewers, and pupils were used to him which could help their coping in interviews. Another positive fact of interviewer being the same all the time was that there is evidence in sociolinguistic re-

search to show that speakers vary their use of language according to their addressee. Because the interviewer was the same over the years, the variance in responses was not due to a different addressee. Ellis (2003) argues that the nature of interaction varies according to whether the interlocutors are familiar with each other or not (Ellis 2003, 98). In this study, the interlocutors were familiar with each other and the variance caused for not being familiar disappears.

However, the described interview contexts may contain a negative aspect. The interviewer knew the pupils and had his predjudices against each of them. He might have treated the pupils in the interviews according to his earlier preassumptions. Good were good and poor were poor, also in the interviews.

The multicultural language use environment is present in the interviewer's strategies, too. The interviewer's mother tongue is English which had influence on his actions in the interviews, as he puts it in the following quote:

> *"you're kind of thinking…hm… what to say next that makes a person like me quite nervous native speakers don't like when there are those gaps in our conversation but there is lots of time for that I´m sure when you graduate from high school you'll be fully bilingual thank you G7 that's all for this year and we'll see you bye bye"*

The interviewer did not like to listen to the gaps in pupil's utterances, but he tried to fill the gaps by talking. This leads to the lack of pupils' thinking time.

8.4 Conclusions

Earlier I have approached the research results from the three different research questions, and I have documented and analysed the findings grade after grade. In that way, the reader may have been able to follow the data extracts and see the genuine examples of pupils' communicative language use of English and also the interviewer's strategies in it to build a picture of communicative language used actually as it has taken place. In the following, I will also discuss the Finnish pupils' communicative language use in interviews as a whole as the study demonstrates that the pupils' communication strategies, language functions and interviewer's strategies are intertwined in interviews.

In the present study, the focus is in communication strategies and language functions, which form the pupils' communicative language use of English. The interviewer's strategies, which help the pupils to cope in inter-

views in English, are studied, too. All these three aspects form an intertwined whole in an interview and each of them seem to have an influence on each other. The study shows, as Brown (2001) puts it, interaction in the interviews is changing thoughts and emotions together with two participants, which affects both of them (Brown 2001, 165). The interviews demonstrate to be a functioning interaction between the two participants. Thoughts and emotions are changed, which carries the interview ahead. Communication strategies are needed either due to the lack of foreign language competence of a pupil or the character of the pupil as a foreign language user. This is in line with earlier research which shows that various factors, such as personal, interpersonal and social, have a strong influence on access to linguistic resources and interactional opportunies and ultimately foreign language learning (see Kurata 2011, 29).

The interviewer leads the interviews by choosing the themes, the topics, the questions and the strategies to help the interviewees. The interviewer has the possibility to affect the pupils' language functions by choosing to ask a certain questions, which predict the answers. When asking for information, the pupil's answer most certainly contains an informative function, or by asking for an opinion, the answer propably contains a judgemental or an argumentative function. When the language function is chosen, pupils reach it by using certain communication strategies, if difficulties occur. And the used communication strategies affect again the interviewer's strategies to proceed in the interview and to help the pupils to cope. The used language functions are not completely pupils' choices, but the interviewer's role is strong. The pupils have a stronger personal role in using the communication strategies.

The interviewer's strategies, pupils' communication strategies and language functions form and build the pupils' communicative language use, and they all act in interaction as it is described in Figure 5. These three aspects build together the interviews. One aspect has an influence on the two others and vice versa. This is seen, for example, in the way of using language functions in grades 1–2 compared to communication strategies used in grades 5–6. The interviewer's strategies lead the pupils to use language functions in such a way that the responsive functions dominate in grades 1–2 and the judgemental and argumentational functions in grades 5–6. The pupils' communication strategies and the interviewer's strategies interact more in grades 1–2 and in weak language users' utterances. The older the pupils become or better language users the pupils are, the less different communication strategies are used.

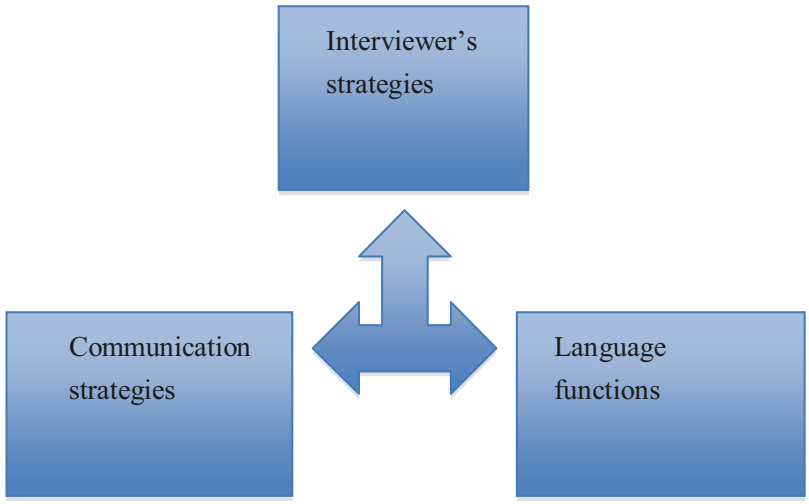

Figure 5. The three aspects in pupils' communicative language use of English.

The three aspects seen in figure 5 cannot function as such, but the essential part of the communicative language use is the language content and competence. There must be something to talk about and the competence to talk about it. CLIL can be seen as one element in providing content and competence to the pupils' communicative language use. The themes follow pupils' CLIL curriculum and the interviewer often asks what the pupils have been studying in the classroom.

However, the pupils differ in their communicative language use. Certain indications of pupil profiles in using CSs are identified. Some pupils are strong at achieving and others at avoiding. This is seen especially in early grades. In grades 1–2, the pupils' communicative language use of English is minor compared to grades 3–6. This is typical in the beginning of learning a foreign language. Krashen (1985) speaks about the silent period when the language learner builds up one´s vocabulary and the production skills have not developed yet. The silent period takes about 1–2 years. In grades 3–4, there is seen a rapid growth of the communicative language use of English because of formal English lessons starting in grade 3. And later in grades 5–6, the interviews seem to be more like conversations between the interviewer and the interviewee. This is in line with Järvinen (1999), who argues that there are phases in pupils' language proficiency development in CLIL. After a slow phase comes rapid progress and vice versa.

The pupils in the present study represent five different cultural backgrounds, which are Finnish, Kurdish, Arabic, Bosnian and Cambodian. The cultural reasons may have influenced also on their communicative language use of English. Pupils may have transferred their mother tongue socio-cultural norms to their language use of English. This has been recognised by

Taguchi (2007) and is identified in the present study, too. Asian background refers to avoiding and Arabic background to achieving strategies. This is in line with earlier research results (e.g. Schalter 1974), in which Chinese learners produced fewer clauses than Arabic learners.

The interviews are built on pupils' present competence of using English. The interviewer is aware of the pupils' competence of English, because he regularly met the pupils in small group sessions. Content-based elements are essential in CLIL. The interviews follow along the themes and contents used either in small group sessions or in the classroom year after year. The topics are built on the previous experience, and pupils are motivated to discuss the topics and themes in the interviews. This is in line with Larsen-Freeman (2000), who defines the principles in content-based approach in language teaching. According to her, the subject matter content is used for language teaching purposes. Teaching should build on pupils' previous experience. When learners perceive the relevance of their language use, they are motivated to learn. They know that this is a means to an end, rather than an end in itself. The teacher's role is to scaffold the linguistic content, i.e. help learners to say what it is they want to say by building a complete utterance together with the students. In this view language is learnt most effectively when it is used as a medium to convey informational content of interest to the pupils. Vocabulary is easier to acquire when there are contextual clues to help to convey meaning.

The pupils use mother tongue or Finnish in their private speech when they have difficulties with in their language use of English. This follows the earlier studies (Swain 2000; Järvinen 2006) which recommend the use of mother tongue to overcome problems in foreign language use. This study changed my personal attitudes towards private speech in one's mother tongue. When I first listened to the audio-recordings I noticed that weak English speakers used more mother tongue or Finnish to cope. It made me think that this demonstrates poor skills in communicative language use of English. How wrong I was. The pupils who are able to use various CSs demonstrate good skills in communicative language use in a foreign language. They are motivated to talk in the interviews and reach their current utmost potential in communicative language use in English. They make a lot of grammatical mistakes, but usually the communicative goals are reached.

The study results demonstrate that pupils with multilingual background are good at overall communicative language use and some of them are able to use several foreign languages. This is in line with earlier results, which have reported multicultural pupils oral proficiency. In the present study, I discuss plurilingual pupils with multicultural backgrounds. Halonen (2007) argues

that multicultural pupils are strong in communicative oral proficiency, but multicultural pupils do not achieve the same level as Finns in other fields of language competence, for excample writing and grammar skills. This is in correspondence with the present results. Some of the multilingual pupils are good in their communicative language use but not in correctness of their grammar. Some pupils with immigrant background are given mother tongue instruction during their basic education years. This is recognised to be essential in supporting the foreign language learning (see Spolsky 1989; Krashen 1985 and Lehtinen 2002).

Non-standard English utterances are identified in pupils' communicative language use, particularly concerning pupils with immigrant background, which indicates that language learning has taken place also in naturalistic settings (see Ellis 2008, 233). The correctness of pupils' communicative language use of English differs from pupil to pupil and weaknesses in grammar and production skills exist. The competence of using English is considered in relative, not absolute terms of correctness. Also Harjanne and Tella (2009) stress the focus firstly on meaning and secondly on form in communicative language teaching. I concur with their arguments, as it is much in line with the findings in the present study. Pupils' communicative language use of English in this study is not always correct in form, but it reaches the meaning mediating.

In the light of CLIL research, the results are in line. The pupils' communicative language use is in connection with CLIL context through the content, language and strategies which is also highlighted by Järvinen (2006) in her studies to promote language and learning in CLIL. In the present study, the content of the interviews consists of school's curriculum in CLIL (see TNK OPS 2004). This study showed the importance of the interviewer's role in the pupils' communicative language use of English, which makes one to judge the teacher'a role in a CLIL class. It creates huge demands for CLIL teachers to be successful in their teaching to achieve good results in pupils'communicative language use. Teachers have to maintain good competence of English, the curriculum content, pedagocical skills, psycological eye for different pupils and motivationing skills. They have to know the pupils and their potential well. Järvinen (2006) makes recommendations to CLIL teachers for how to act in CLIL classroom to be able to make the curriculum alive in pupils' language use. Her recommendations put a lot of preassure on the teachers to be successful. Pupils' communicative language use of English builds up in interaction and language teaching context, and strategies are learned in oral practice and interaction in the classroom or outside the class-

room. There is also parallel context for language learning outside classroom and school, which promote pupils' language competence.

The pupils are able to communicate in English by using various communication strategies and language functions from grade 1 onwards which indicates that pupils are confident language users, which is in line with Nikula's (2007) research results. The pupils' communicative language use tends to be rather tenseless, which is in accordance with earlier studies. CLIL students suffer, according to Pihko (2008) less from foreign language anxiety in classroom learning situations than their peers in traditional English language classes, and they are more willing to use English in classroom communication, and felt less tense when they spoke English in class (Pihko 2008, 129–137).

Earlier CLIL research underlines oral practice and dialogues. This study indicates that oral practice of English over time in small group sessions with a teacher, who speaks English as his native language, creates a good context to practise communicative language use of English with functional aims, and produces foreign language users on one's own level of communicative language use. Some of the pupils are far ahead and some of them are still struggling. All in all, the interviews are functional and year by year even more fluent. This may also be interpreted that the pupils learned to act in the interview. The themes that the interviews contain are discussed in the small group sessions during the lessons each school year. This CLIL class procedure obviously has also trained the pupils for interaction. The pupils practised their communicative language use since grade 1 regularly until the end of grade 6 in groups of 4–5 pupils. Thus the pupils are used to talk and answer questions.

The interviewer's role of helping pupils to cope in interviews is particularly important in grades 1–2 when the pupils manage to communicate successfully with the help of the interviewer. The older the pupils are, the less help is needed, and the interviews have more and more conversational features. This is in line with earlier research results which show CLIL pupils as confident language users (see Järvinen 2006). The interviews offer a context to practise communicative language use of English in a supporting and positive context. It shows pupils that they can cope in a foreign language. This is an encouraging way to promote pupils' communicative language use in others contexts of life, too.

The results of the present study can be discussed in the context of immigrant pupils' Finnish studies, too. As I have mentioned that some of the pupils in the data study their mother tongue regularly. In addition to that, the pupils study also Finnish. I would like to recommend small group interaction

with a Finnish speaking teacher to practise immigrant pupils' Finnish skills. The positive results in pupils' communicative language use of English could be reached in Finnish language by organising regular small group sessions for the pupils who speak Finnish as their second or third language and who go to school in Finland.

9 Credibility

The credibility of qualitative research focuses on transferability, dependability and conformability (Bryman 2001; Seale et al. 2007). Holliday (2007) claims that qualitative research presents a statement about reality and social life that has to be continually argued and reaffirmed. The need of constant articulation makes writing as important as other aspects of doing research. (Holliday 2007, 1.) I have kept that in mind while writing the present report. The writing has been an ongoing process throughout the whole research process. I have evaluated my writing when the theory has brought new visions to discuss. And when the data have revealed something new to be considered, I have re-written many versions of chapters to accomplish credibility.

9.1 Credibility of the data

The data gathering process took place before starting the present research and that is why I have hardly any possibility to influence the audio-recording process. Almost the only way to influence the audio-recordings was to work as quietly as possible in classroom not to disturb the audio-recordings, which took place in a room next door during grade 1 and 2.

The data consisted of seven pupils' audio-recordings in a 20 pupils' class. The final choice to seven pupils was made due to the number of audio-recordings. The selected seven pupils were those who had the complete amount of recordings during the studied six-year period. That is to say that they were interviewed every year and the rest of the pupils had fewer than six recordings. The choice of those seven pupils enabled to study in unbreakable time scale which is a positive factor to credibility.

The audio-recordings of the pupils' interviews were not planned to be the data base of a research, but just documenting pupils' oral skills every school year. This documentation served for a self-evaluation for the pupils and a document for parents and teachers. The fact that audio-recordings were not primarily for research purposes might have had an effect on the research and its results. The interviews (N=42) were not carefully planned beforehand and they were different in content, and length varied which made it difficult to compare findings between grades and between pupils.

The interviewer's language use did not follow standard interview guidelines, which left enough space to meet the needs of an individual interviewee. For example, thinking and planning time for responses tended to be too short, and pupils did not have adequate time to answer. That is why it was some-

times difficult to be sure if the answers were that I thought them to be. Quietness might have been thinking time, not avoiding and vice versa. The interviewer talk was abundant and not always typical for research use, because it contained a lot of questions to be answered with single-word responses as well as multiple questions which confused the pupils, because they did not know which one of them to answer. As Larzen (2005, 122) claims, it is easier to communicate with a foreigner when you have time to think about what to say and prepare it beforehand. This is true both in a classroom context and in real life. There may have been differences in results if there had been more thinking time for the pupils. However, the responses were communicative even though they did not always contain different kind of utterances.

The interviewer was the same in every interview which raises the consistency of data. Interviewer changes might have added variation to the results. The same interviewer during the 6-year-long data collecting process is a positive factor according to Ross (2007, 2017) who claims in his research results that the interviewer variation causes oral proficiency backsliding.

Despite all the shortcomings I find the credibility of data sufficient on basis what is said earlier about a qualitative research. The aim was to describe, analyse and interpret the chosen data. All in all, the audio-recordings offer authentic material of pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews which has not been documented before in this particular manner. The recordings were of good enough quality and the transcribing was possible on the basis of interviews. All the utterances were possible to identify and transcribe. The copies of the audio-recordings and the transcriptions are in my possession and are available to study the credibility of data.

9.2 Credibility of the data analysis

The credibility of the analysis is a challenge for a researcher in a qualitative study, because there is a risk to be too subjective. I analysed the pupils' communicative language use of English myself through communication strategies, language functions and interviewer's strategies. The data analysis followed theory in the field and the classification and categorising both in communication strategies (see Tarone 1983; Tarone & Yule 1989; Dörnyei & Scott 1997) and language functions (see Kumpulainen & Wray 2002) is in line with the former theory.

I started to listen to the audio-recorded interviews in autumn 2007 to enchance an initial impression of the pupils' communicative language use of English. I transcribed the audio-recorded interviews first in spring 2008. Later in 2008, the transcription was checked again and corrections were

made. Also along the research process I listened to the audio-recordings again and again and corrected the transcription when it was needed to raise the credibility of the analysis.

First I analysed communication strategies, which I begun by trying to identify and distinguish the utterances of communication strategies. I started to make groups of the identified utterances. I developed categories and category labels to classify the communication strategies. I identified examples and definitions of each category to insolidate classifying. I identified additional categories, which the data provided and finally I made connections between categories and existing theories. I also combined categories, which shared similar features and could be combined. When analysing language functions, I followed the same kind of precedures as I had used in analysing communication strategies. I found the existing classification of language functions by Kumpulainen and Wray (2002), and with some changes I adapted their classification better to the data. Analysing the interviewer's strategies was content-based and the findings rose from the data, and they were much in line with the theory (see Ellis 1994; Tarone 1983; Tarone & Yule 1989; Dörnyei & Scott 1997; Kumpulainen & Wray 2002).

The peer debriefing could have been possible in classifying communication strategies, language functions and interviewer's strategies, but I did not see it beneficial enough to engage another person to such a long, time-consuming, complicated and specific content analysis. Instead of that I made the classifications several times during the research process, which gave deeper understanding in the matter and made me do changes, combinations and additions in categories. I consider that this procedure raised the credibility of the analysis. The research report also contains many quotes from the interviews and the readers are able to measure the credibility of the analysis through the quotes.

9.3 Credibility of the results and the interpretations

The credibility of the results and the interpretations in qualitative research challenges the subjectivity especially when the researcher studies her own work, as in this present study. I had been the class teacher of the pupils of the data during their first two school years, which can be seen also as an advantage. Deeper knowing of the pupils and their English skills and understanding their mind set may or may not be a positive aspect. I had access to the pupils' reports and I was able to follow their success in English and other subjects at school. Creswell (2003) underlines the importance of researcher's self-reflectivity and introspection. I valued the pupils according to their skills and

behavior in the classroom in grades 1–2. It made me think that the skillful and hard working pupils might manage better in the interviews. It did prove to be right. It is important that the researcher deals explicitly with her prejudices, values and personal interests as well as ethic questions concerning research concept and process like the relationship between the researcher and participants (Creswell 2003, 181–182, 184).

It has been challenging to analyse, report and make interpretations of the research findings in this study, because the data does not contain certain steady factors, but the data of the interviews is variable. The interviews differed from pupil to pupil and from grade to grade. Analysing and reporting has been intertwined. According to Bryman (2001), the qualitative data is studied inductively from details to more common perspectives arriving finally into convincing based on interpretative deduction. Data collecting, analysing and reporting go hand in hand and the result is more a process than a product. (Bryman 2001, 264, 278–281; Tesch 1990, 44, 55–56.)

I have had to report findings which have been contrary to my expectations. I assumed that good communicative language use would not be possible to attain with poor skills in vocabulary and grammar. This research showed that it is possible and it surprised me a lot. Also quiet and shy pupils' communicative language use of English was good in interviews, which was contrary to what I expected. All what is said in my understanding supports the credibility of the present study results and interpretations.

9.4 Transferability, debendability and conformability

To conduct this research in another context may give different results. There are many factors which have influence on pupils' communicative language use like personal factors, pupil's socio-cultural background and history, pupil's knowledge and skills, aims, motivation and commitment in the task (Swain & Lapkin 1998). All these mentioned issues have definitely had influence on the pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews. However, there are very many factors which cannot be controlled and are not to be controlled in this research. The requirements of the transferability of a qualitative study are fulfilled in the subjectivity view, which is accepted (see Creswell 2003; Holliday 2008, 7).

Dependability is a parallel concept to reliability, which is about the possibility to conduct the research again in another context. A qualitative research is usually unique in the sense that the research design cannot be copied and conducted totally similarly again in another context. This present case study cannot be replicated reliably. To assess the dependability of this study, the

reader may find relevant research questions, descriptions of the research context, audio-recorded data, quotes and descriptions of pupils' utterances. The interviewer was the same in every interview which supports the dependability of the research. Also the pupils were the same all the time and they all were interviewed in each grade, but the interviews differ in length, content and style each time, which do not support the dependability.

Conformability is a parallel concept to objectivity (Bryman 2001, 272). However, the present study is subjective because of the qualitative character of the study. I have made the procedures (see Creswell 2003) in self-reflectivity, introspection, prejudices, values, personal interests and relationship between myself and participants to be as objective as possible. It is to admit that the interpretation is to be as objective as possible and the challenge for me has been to make the familiar research context to be strange and to listen to it with a stranger's ears. This caused an attitude change, conceptual change and an eyes opening procedure to myself. What I thought was not what I found. What I thought was poor, was in fact good and vice versa.

To raise the confirmability of the present study I have acted as Holliday (2007, 9) suggests when reporting the research process by describing (i) choice of social setting, (ii) choice of research activities, (iii) choice of themes and focuses and (iv) dedication to and thoroughness of fieldwork.

10 Discussion

In the beginning of this research report I argued that Finns hesitate to speak a foreign language even if they are able to do that. Over the course of the research process it has become clear that Finnish pupils in this present research actually do speak English and they are able to communicate successfully in English. They use communication strategies beginning from grade 1 and they demonstrate many language functions in their communicative language use of English.

The aim of this study has been to describe, analyse and interpret Finnish pupils' communicative language use of English in interviews in basic education grades 1–6. I have focused on two different phenomena in which the pupils' communicative language use of English is studied: communication strategies and language functions. Also the interviewer's strategies which helped the pupils to cope in interviews have been discussed. To study the audio-recorded material in an interview context through content analysis has been a functional choice to deepen understanding in the Finnish pupils' communicative language use in English.

The research findings indicate that the pupils are able to use English communicatively through various communication strategies and language functions. In this study their communicative language use contains 11 identified communication strategies and 12 identified language functions. There are differences in using communication strategies between pupils and grades. Some of the pupils are strongly using achieving strategies and others avoiding strategies. In early grades avoiding is identified more often, but with the help of the interviewer the communication succeeds. The importance of adequate thinking time to answer the interviewer's questions is acknowledged. Pupils need time to think, some of them more than others. I assume that there would have been less avoidance strategies, if the interviewer had given more time to think.

The identified language functions concentrate on the five most used and other language functions were used occasionally. Both communication strategies and language functions used by the pupils concentrate on the common categories in grades 4–6. The most used communication strategy is confirming and the most used language functions are informational and judgemental functions. According to this study, confirming is an essential way to participate in conversation and it assures that pupils use English confidentially.

With the help of the interviewer pupils manage to communicate successfully, which is seen particularly in the first two grades. The older the pupils

became, the less help from the interviewer they need, and the interviews had more and more conversational features. The interviewer uses a lot of strategies to support the pupils coping in English in interviews. He changes his strategies according to pupil to maximise the pupil's communicative language use of English. The fact that the interviewer knows the pupils beforehand enabled him to use various strategies to help the pupils to cope in interviews. The teacher's role to promote pupils' communicative language use of a foreign language is important. Specific CLIL teacher education is to be required and that is why teacher education in CLIL is to be recommended.

Among the pupils there are those who seem to learn English very well mostly in school context according their replies in the interviews. I suppose that the longitudinal oral practice of English in small group sessions with a teacher who speaks English as his native language creates a good context to practise communicative language use of English in interaction with functioning aims. The procedure is in accordance with socio-cultural theory, which underlines the importance of dialogue and interaction in learning. The CLIL pupils of the present study had also possibilities to study formal English from grade 3 onwards in addition to small group sessions with 4–5 pupils.

It is a positive fact that this particular school provides possibilities to practise interaction, oral language skills and communication skills in small groups with a teacher, who speaks English as a native speaker. The pupils are capable of using communication strategies. The oral practice of a foreign language regularly in small groups is to be recommended.

An interesting issue is that the data consists of pupils with multicultural backgrounds (N=4/7), though the research is conducted to study Finnish pupils who live and go to school in Finland. Those plurilingual pupils are very good in communicative language use. Research (Halonen 2007) has shown earlier that immigrant pupils are strong in communicative oral proficiency. The research results in pupils' communicative language use of English in this report are in line with the earlier results.

The immigrant pupils have had mother tongue lessons. I interpret this that mother tongue instruction is essential in educating children in a foreign language as well as Finnish as a second language, because these immigrant children will study through the Finnish school system. This leads to pedagogical recommendations for the early start with mother tongue instruction as well as Finnish as a second language instruction. In CLIL context pupils are taught to read and write in Finnish in grade 1 and these skills are supported and trained effectively in grade 2. Finnish as a second language instruction should be started early enough in grade 1 through interaction in small groups with a native Finnish speaker teacher.

The present study results show that the pupils fulfill the demands of European language policy. They are able to use a foreign language with functioning aims in a communicative context. I claim that the Finnish language program, in this particular case CLIL, produces confident language users to meet the multilingual world. Interaction in small groups is essential, and teachers' role is unquestionable. However, recently the development in language teaching in Finland is unfortunately controversial: less or no small groups. Reasons are economical, not pedagogical. More economical resources are needed for foreign language teaching to ensure communicative foreign language users also in future.

This research project has given deeper understanding in language teaching overall and especially in CLIL. It has also revealed certain issues in multicultural context and in communication. It has led to the recommendations, which I will make in the following Table 21.

Table 21. Recommendations for teaching through a foreign language in a multicultural context.

CONTEXT	**SCHOOL**	**FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING**	**CLIL**	**FINNISH FRAMEWORK**	**GLOBAL FRAMEWORK**
WHAT	Communicative language use in a foreign language (also L2[15]/ S2[16])	Communicative content teaching in a foreign language	Content teaching through a foreign language	Teacher education in CLIL	Mother tongue lessons
WHEN	Weekly	Foreign language, environmental studies, mathematics, music, physical education etc. lessons	Early start, regularly	Parallel with teacher education	Weekly
TO WHOM	All the pupils	All the pupils	All the children	Students	Immigrant pupils
HOW	Talking in small groups with native speakers with functioning	Communicative tasks in authentic situations in lessons	From short sessions to lessons	Theory in lectures and practice in CLIL classes	In small group sessions

[15] L2=second language
[16] S2=Finnish as a foreign language

	aims				
BY WHOM	Language teachers, class teachers, mother tongue teachers, native speakers	Language teachers and class teacher in co-operation	Kindergarten, preschool, class and subject teachers	Teacher educators, teachers	Native speaker teachers
WHY	Communicative foreign language use developes in interaction in authentic environments	Approaching through different subjects gives possibilities to reach different kind of learners; enables new learning strategies	Regular practice and every day communication train the children for communicative foreign language use	CLIL teaching demands specially qualified teachers	Strong mother tongue supports foreign language learning; immigrant pupils' potential in using several languages will be used and acknowledged
RESULTS	Confident plurilingual language users in all sectors of society even globally	Confident plurilingual language users in all sectors of society even globally	Confident plurilingual language users in all sectors of society even globally	Confident plurilingual language users and teachers in all sectors of society even globally	Confident plurilingual language users in all sectors of society even globally

I find it important to recommend foreign language teaching through CLIL in different subjects to all the pupils, because by doing so a confident plurilingual language user generation will be growing for all sectors of society. Mother tongue teaching to pupils with immigrant background is important in a present multicultural world, because by doing so communication between individuals, peoples and cultures becomes easier. The recommendations made are in line with the European language policy. To fulfil the objectives the recommendations demand procedures at school, in foreign language teaching, in CLIL and in teacher education. The recommendations for the Finnish framework underline the need for CLIL teacher education, whereas the importance of the mother tongue teaching in multicultural context is essential in the global framework.

Through this research project I have deepened my understanding in communication and its various aspects. I have changed my teaching practices in my CLIL classroom towards more interactive and communicative approach. I have found my ears once again. Suddenly my ears have become as important

as my tongue in teaching. Today my pupils have larger role in classroom interaction. They possess more both freedom and responsibility. I have increased teaching in thinking skills, planning, reasoning, argumentation and communication. This research project has also opened my eyes for new research contexts. I have collected material in my classroom to study pupils in grade 2 and entrepreneurship. Also CLIL teaching offers many sectors for research. This research process has been an empowering experience which will hopefully bear fruit in years to come. It has proved me that a practitioner may and can conduct a research study, if motivation is there.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1. Interviews in grade 1

According to the interviewer the main aim of the interviews in Grade 1 *is to make the pupils to open their mouth and speak English and to have words on tape*. The contents and the vocabulary of the interviews followed the curriculum for grade 1 in foreign language instruction in the school.

The interview began with a greeting and with a pattern *How are you?* After that pupils were asked to say a rhyme *Head and shoulders or Hickory dickory dock*. The interviewer asked questions to which he assumed pupils to be able to answer on the basis of the foreign language curriculum. The questions were formulated in a way that pupils were able to give mainly single-word answers. The themes were mainly the same in the interviews; some variation between the themes existed, however. The interviews were not identical and the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee affected the variation of the used themes.

The interview themes in grade 1:
Greeting
Family
Friends
Class
Animals
Fruit
Rhyme: Hockory Dickory Dock; Humpty Dumpty
Song: Head and Shoulder
Colours
A picture book: A Very Hungry Caterpillar; Marsians
Numbers

APPENDIX 2. Interviews in Grade 2

The aim *is to consolidate fluency,* said the interviewer. The interview measured pupils' vocabulary skills and their auditive discrimination skills. Pupils were asked to say what they see in two different pictures. And then the interviewer asked the pupils to recognise words pairs which rhymed. Two of the pupils said rhymes *Jack be nimble* and *Hickory dickory.*

The interview themes were weather, siblings, pets, breakfast habits and school food. There were also separate questions about colours, numbers, favourite school subjects, arts lesson topics and African animals. Some pupils were asked to tell how they come to school in the mornings. Questions were not identical from pupil to pupil.

The interview themes in grade 2:
Greeting
Weather
Rhyme pairs in picture cards
Naming pictures in Alphabet book
Breakfast
Food
Family
School way
Rhyme: Jack be nimble

APPENDIX 3. Interviews in grade 3

In the beginning of the interview, there was the usual small talk with greetings. The interviewer asked the interviewee to tell the plot of a story with the help of a picture book, which was familiar to the pupils. The interviewer made open-ended questions and asked the pupils to tell or describe with the help of the picture book.

The interview themes in grade 3:
Greeting
Class
Pets
Hobbies
I can't sleep -Story book
Summer plans

APPENDIX 4. Interviews in Grade 4

According to the interviewer, there was *a rapid development in the English language use in grade 4*. Pupils made *an exponential take-off in their language use of English* according to the interviewer. The pupils had to answer the questions about a picture book which they were looking at with the interviewer. They had to continue sentences and they were asked to read a passage of the picture book.

The interview themes in grade 4:
Greeting
Weather
Weekend
Family
Favourite winter sports
The Cat and a Hat -story book

Palm Sunday traditions
Birthday
Favourite candy
Favourite book
Anthony and Cleopatra -crime scene
Hobbies
Summer plans

APPENDIX 5. Interviews in grade 5

The interviewer described interviews in grade 5 as follows: *"Pupils have more options depending on the class. There are stories to talk about and novels that pupils have read. Conversational features."*

The interviews touched topics which were interesting to the pupils, such as hobbies, books, food, and allowances.

The interview themes in grade 5:
Greeting
Weather
Date
Class
School way
Hobbies
Favourite sports
Allowances
Food
Family
Homework
Plans for the future
Favourite TV programs
Mother tongue and other languages
Summer holiday

APPENDIX 6. Interviews in grade 6

The interviewer wanted, as he described the interview, *to keep the interview more open.* The interviews had more conversational features. Tell me about -questions were used. The interview topics varied from pupil to pupil according to their interests.

The interview themes in grade 6:
Greeting
Date
Age and birthday
Secondary school
Sports
Hobbies
Family
Plurilingual competence
Travelling
Books
Food
Home country
Homework